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The Early Shi‘i Kufan Traditionists’ Perspective on the Rightly Guided Caliphs

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This article revisits a widely accepted yet unsubstantiated trajectory of early Kufan Zaydi history, namely, that with ‘Alī recognized as the fourth rightly guided caliph by the proto-Sunni traditionists, represented by Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal (d. 241/855), the Batri traditionists were Sunnified. Analysis of Safīna’s hadith transmission and the transmitters of the first four caliphs’ virtues suggests that the four-caliphs thesis was likely circulated in Kufa by the late eighth century and that Kufan traditionists of various sectarian persuasions played an important role in its formation. This paper argues that the Kufan Shi‘i traditionists came to identify with their traditionist townspeople as a result of shared qualities and mutual enemies. By revisiting a narrative that is often taken for granted, this study proffers new insights into the formation of a defining Sunni doctrine—the four-caliphs thesis—as well as the transformation of the Kufan Shi‘is.

As the stronghold of ‘Alī and the headquarters of several Hāshimī Shi‘i movements, Kufa is associated with Shi‘ism in the first centuries of Islam. Although there were other religio-political alignments in the city,¹ its Shi‘i leanings dominate the impression of the city held by both early and later historians.² Kufan Shi‘ism was by no means homogenous. As Josef van Ess succinctly puts it, “the term [Shi‘a] suggests a false image of unity which never existed.”³ The Kufan political commitment to ‘Alī and his family in the first century of Islam gradually came to be expressed through religious idioms characterized by a set of distinctive ideas and ideals concerning leadership. Among these, the Imamis restrict the candidacy for the leadership to a specific lineage of al-Ḥusayn b. ‘Alī’s offspring, while the Zaydis

Author’s note: References to hadith collections only indicate the numbers of the traditions. I would like to thank Harry Munt for reading an early draft of this paper; the organizers and participants, especially Ahmed El Shamsy, of the Shi‘i Studies Group Symposium “Sectarian Identity and Community Formation in Islam” in 2018 for their comments and feedback; two anonymous reviewers for their suggestions; and Peri Bearman for transforming this paper into an elegantly presented work. This work was supported by the Ministry of Science and Technology, Republic of China [106-2410-H-004-173-MY2].

1. For an outline of the early history of Kufa and the different political, theological, legal, and sectarian alignments, see N. Haider, *The Origin of the Shi‘a: Identity, Ritual, and Sacred Place in Eighth-Century Kūfa* (New York: Cambridge Univ. Press, 2011), 3–11; J. van Ess, *Theology and Society in the Second and Third Centuries of the Hijra: A History of Religious Thought in Early Islam*, vol. 1, tr. John O’Kane (Leiden: Brill, 2017), 172–536.

2. Sufyān al-Thawrī condemns those who view anyone better than Abū Bakr and ‘Umar, but he places ‘Alī above ‘Uthmān in the ranking of virtues; this mild Shi‘i tendency, al-Dhahabī (d. 748/1348) comments, is based on the Kufan scholarly tradition, just like his perspective on the intoxicating drink *nabīdh* (*wa-fīhi tashayyu‘ yasīr kāna yuthallithu bi-‘Alī wa-huwa ‘alā madhhab baladihi aydan fī al-nabīdh*); al-Dhahabī, *Siyar a‘lām al-nubalā’*, ed. H. ‘Abd al-Mannān (Beirut: Bayt al-Afkār al-Dawliyya, 2004), 1840 (quote), 1844; al-Nāshī‘ al-Akbar, *Masā’il al-imāma*, ed. J. van Ess (Beirut: Franz Steiner, 1971), 65. See also al-Jūzjānī, *al-Shajara fī aḥwāl al-rijāl*, ed. ‘A. ‘A. al-Bastawī (Faisalabad: Hadith Academy, 1990), 123–29.

3. Van Ess, *Theology and Society*, 268.

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allow for a wider spectrum of the imamate: any virtuous and knowledgeable descendant of al-Ḥasan and al-Ḥusayn can claim the leadership of the Muslim community.⁴

The Zaydi conception of the imamate, however, did not remain static. The early Kufan Zaydis were dominated by the Batri perspective, which holds ‘Alī to be the most virtuous man after the Prophet and thus most worthy of leadership, while acknowledging the legitimacy of Abū Bakr and ‘Umar’s rule.⁵ Such a take on the early history of the Muslim community justifies the Batri transmission and use of the hadith heard from the majority of the Companions on the basis of which “die traditionalistische Schule Kufas” was built.⁶ However, in the course of the eighth and ninth centuries, as a result of the influence and influx of the early Imami hadith, the Zaydi community became inclined to Jarudi doctrine, which rejects the legitimacy of the three caliphs before ‘Alī and departs from the Batris in a number of theological questions.⁷ As Jarudism became the Zaydi mainstream, the Kufan Batri traditionist remnant was absorbed into “Sunni traditionism,”⁸ which, thanks to Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal’s (d. 241/855) promotion of the four-caliphs thesis (*al-khulafā’ al-rāshidūn*), could encompass more diverse elements within its community. With their entrée into the Sunni fold, the Kufan traditionists (*ahl al-ḥadīth*)⁹ with conspicuous Shi‘i sympathy, viz. the ex-Batri Zaydis, contributed to the veneration of the memory of ‘Alī by importing his *faḍā’il* (merits) traditions into the nascent Sunni community.¹⁰

This narrative of the Sunnification of the Kufan Batri Zaydi traditionists (“the Sunnification narrative”), though accepted in present-day scholarship, is yet to be substantiated with rigor. In what follows, the present study proposes its revision in three aspects. First, although Saḥnā’s hadith, which endorses the four-caliphs thesis, likely originated in Basra, its circulation in Kufa probably began in the second half of the eighth century, earlier than the generation of Ibn Ḥanbal. Second, the Kufan traditionists played a far from passive role in the establishment of the four-caliphs thesis: more than their counterparts in any other city, with the exception of Basra, they championed the dissemination of the traditions illustrating the virtues of the four rightly guided caliphs. Third, the early Kufan contributors to the four-caliphs thesis are traditionists of different sectarian views, including Murji‘is, Shi‘is, and proto-Sunnis.¹¹ The Kufan assimilation into the wider traditionist community seems to have

4. Al-Ash‘arī, *Maqālāt al-Islāmiyyīn wa-ikhtilāfāt al-muṣalliyīn*, ed. M. M. ‘Abd al-Ḥamīd (Beirut: al-Maktaba al-‘Asriyya, 1990), 1: 88–105, 136–46.

5. W. Madelung, *Der Imam al-Qāsim ibn Ibrāhīm und die Glaubenslehre der Zaiditen* (Berlin: De Gruyter, 1965), 50. See also al-Nawbakhtī and al-Qummī, *Firaq al-shi‘a*, ed. ‘A. al-Ḥafanī (Cairo: Dār al-Rashād, 1992), 22.

6. Madelung, *Der Imam*, 50.

7. Madelung, *Der Imam*, 51; Haider, *Origin*, 192–214; P. Crone, *Medieval Islamic Political Thought* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh Univ. Press, 2005), 100. It should be pointed out that both Batri and Jarudi perspectives on the caliphs before ‘Alī existed in later Zaydism; see Crone, *Medieval*, 101. For an overview of their theological views, see *ELI*, art. Zaydiyya (W. Madelung).

8. The sectarian categories such as Sunni here follow the usage of the authors in question. Here, I follow Madelung (“die Sunniten,” *Der Imam*, 50) and Haider (“a nascent Sunni traditionism,” *Origin*, 214).

9. I use “traditionists” or *ahl al-ḥadīth* to describe the group that is associated with the collection, transmission, and circulation of hadith, for this group very likely includes, or, at least, substantially overlaps with, the traditionalists of the period concerned here.

10. Madelung, *Der Imam*, 50–51, 223–28. Asma Afsaruddin also credits Ibn Ḥanbal, along with al-Shāfi‘ī (d. 204/820), with the promotion of the four-caliphs notion; see her *Excellence and Precedence: Medieval Islamic Discourse on Legitimate Leadership* (Leiden: Brill, 2002), 18.

11. Some Kufan traditionists are described as *ṣāhib* or *ahl al-sunna wa-l-jamā‘a* (adherents of the Sunna and the community; see nn. 35 and 66) by early biographical sources such as Ibn Sa‘d, but their beliefs and worldviews cannot be understood through the lens of what evolved into classical Sunni Islam. I therefore adopt the term “proto-Sunnis,” as it is necessary to distinguish them from later Sunnis, who from the thirteenth century on gradually

been prompted by shared significant commonalities. This paper argues that the Sunnification narrative wrongly presumes a belated external force, embodied by Ibn Ḥanbal, which changed Kufan *ahl al-ḥadīth*. As such, it also overlooks the momentous transformation within the city itself. That is, Kufan traditionists seem to have aligned together at the turn of the ninth century against their mutual enemies, such as the proponents of reason (*ahl al-raʿy*) and the Imami Shiʿis (or, as the sources tend to call them, Rafidis), whose approaches to divine truth posed a threat to their worldview based on the Prophet's legacy, that is, the ḥadīth. By revisiting the Sunnification narrative, the contribution of the Batri Zaydis to the formulation of the Sunni doctrine, the four-caliphs thesis, can be better appreciated. In addition, the fluidity of the sectarian categories that modern and premodern scholars employ will be brought to light for a better understanding of early Shiʿi development.¹²

I. SAFĪNA'S HADITH AND ITS CIRCULATION

The concept of the four rightly guided caliphs is identified as one of the trademarks of Sunni Islam. The four-caliphs thesis distinguishes the era of the first four successors of the Prophet—Abū Bakr (r. 11–13/632–634), ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb (r. 13–23/634–644), ʿUthmān (r. 23–35/644–656), and ʿAlī (r. 35–40/656–661)—from the subsequent period, which was seen as the corrupt kingship (*mulk*) in contrast to the legitimate caliphate (*khiḷāfa*) or caliphate of prophethood (*khiḷāfat al-nubuwwa*). The process of the canonization of the four-caliphs thesis as a defining Sunni tenet is still understudied,¹³ but Ibn Ḥanbal and his generation are often credited with its promotion.¹⁴ According to the Sunnification narrative, it is through the Sunni embrace of the four-caliphs theory that the Kufan Batri Shiʿis came to converge with Sunni traditionism.

A number of ḥadīth can be used to support the four-caliphs notion. There are ḥadīth in which the Prophet points out the virtues or merits of several Companions, including those

agreed on latitude for divergences (especially between Ashʿarism and Maturidism) over theological issues and the validity of the legal rulings derived from the four Sunni legal schools. Such mutual recognition did not necessarily exist among the traditionists in the eighth and ninth centuries, with whom we are concerned here; see M. Q. Zaman, *Religion and Politics under the Early ʿAbbāsids: The Emergence of the Proto-Sunni Elite* (Leiden: Brill, 1997), 49–59; Sh. Ahmed, *What Is Islam? The Importance of Being Islamic* (Princeton: Princeton Univ. Press, 2016), 75–76.

12. A case in point is van Ess's unease with the generalization of non-Imami Shiʿi traditionists as Batris (or, in his usage, Butris), which can be discerned in his use of a separate category, "Shiʿitizing" (*tashayyuʿ*) traditionists, who "possessed no Shiʿite party membership book [. . .]. They liked to associate with the ʿAlid pretenders or to report about them; but on the whole they took care not to support them actively" (Van Ess, *Theology and Society*, 271). Van Ess's category is influenced by G. H. A. Juynboll, *Muslim Tradition* (Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 1983), 49. Yet Juynboll has it from Ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalānī (d. 852/1449), who defines *tashayyuʿ* as viewing ʿAlī above ʿUthmān in terms of virtues and righteous in all the battles that he undertook; see Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb al-tahdhīb*, ed. I. al-Zaybaq and ʿA. Murshid (Beirut: Muʾassasat al-Risāla, n.d.), 1: 53. It is questionable whether a definition constructed in the later Mamluk period can accurately describe the sectarian identities of these traditionists. The limits of such a category are evinced by van Ess's ambiguity when defining Shiʿitizing traditionists and Zaydis, whom he understands as "Shiʿites in a broader sense, as long as they were not reckoned among the Rāfiḍites" (p. 274). Thus, since Shiʿitizing traditionists can be seen as Zaydi of some sort, it is not clear how to distinguish these two terms.

13. Patricia Crone suggests that it was during the course of the ninth century or by the beginning of the tenth century in Iraq that the majority of Muslims realized that the four-caliphs thesis could be "a compromise designed to unite as many believers as possible in a single community." However, in various places she states that this process is yet to be investigated (Crone, *Medieval*, 135, 219, 232).

14. See n. 10. Ibn Ḥanbal was not the first to put forward this view, as noted by Zaman (*Religion*, 50–52, 169–71) and T. Nagel, *Rechtleitung und Kalifat: Versuch über eine Grundfrage der islamischen Geschichte* (Bonn: Selbstverlag des Orientalischen Seminars der Universität, 1975), 233.

of the rightly guided caliphs, but the hadith that implicitly and explicitly assign the four caliphs to a divinely or semi-divinely sanctioned status are four; analysis of the transmission history of one of them, Safīna's hadith, which endorses the idea of *al-khulafā' al-rāshidūn*, suggests a different perspective on the interaction between the Kufan Shī'ī traditionists and their counterparts in other regions:

1. 'Umar and the Bishop tradition: 'Umar asked a bishop (*usquf*) whether he could find in his scripture a description about him and the caliphs after him. The bishop replied in the affirmative and said that the next successor would be a man of honesty but cronyism (*khalīfa ṣadaqa yu'thir aqrabīhi*), whom 'Umar recognized as 'Uthmān, and the following caliph would be a righteous Muslim, who, however, would come to power when blood had already been shed.¹⁵

2. The Bucket from Heaven tradition: A man told the Prophet his vision, in which he saw a bucket dangle from the sky. Abū Bakr took a sip from the bucket; then 'Umar came and drank his fill (*taḍalla'a*) from it; so did 'Uthmān; and, finally, 'Alī took it, but the rope was loosened and the bucket overturned, and some water sprinkled on him.¹⁶

3. The Bedouin tradition: The Prophet bought a she-camel from a Bedouin on credit; the Bedouin ran into 'Alī, who asked the Bedouin who would be in charge of the debt owed to the Bedouin should the Prophet die. The Bedouin returned to the Prophet with 'Alī's question, and the Prophet replied: "Abū Bakr al-Ṣiddīq." Then, with the Bedouin as the go-between, 'Alī asked three more hypothetical questions of a similar tenor, and the Prophet identified 'Umar, 'Uthmān, and, finally, 'Alī, as his debt settlers.¹⁷

4. Safīna's tradition, which states: The caliphate of the prophecy will last thirty years; then God will give the kingship to anyone he wills.¹⁸

The first two traditions, while highlighting the four caliphs' rule being ordained by God through the Christian scripture and the heavenly bucket, seem to reflect the length and prosperity of their reigns. The third asserts the legitimacy of the first four caliphs, via the Prophet's designation. These narrations do not sanctify their caliphates vis-à-vis the rulers after them as does Safīna's tradition, which separates the age of the rightly guided caliphs from the later period. Because Safīna's tradition is more widely transmitted than the first three and frequently quoted in support of the four-caliphs doctrine,¹⁹ analysis of its chain of transmission (*isnād*) may offer insights into the dissemination of the concept.

The transmission of Safīna's tradition has been examined by Muhammad Zaman, who finds all the chains of transmission converging at Sa'd b. Jumhān (d. 136/753f.), indicating a Basran provenance.²⁰ By incorporating more chains of transmission and analyzing their

15. Ibn Abī Shayba, *al-Muṣannaḥ*, ed. U. I. Muḥammad (Cairo: al-Fārūq al-Ḥadītha li-l-Tibā'a wa-l-Nashr, n.d.), 32598.

16. Abū Dāwūd al-Sijistānī, *Sunan Abī Dāwūd*, ed. Sh. al-Arnā'ūt and M. K. Qurra Balālī (Beirut: Dār al-Risāla al-ʿĀlamiyya, 2009), *Sunan*, 4637.

17. Nu'aym b. Ḥammād, *Kitāb al-Fitan*, ed. M. M. S. al-Shūrī (Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-ʿIlmiyya, 2004), 257.

18. The hadith of Safīna is widely found in the major collections; in addition to those mentioned below in n. 21, see also al-Baghawī, *Maṣābīḥ al-sunna*, ed. Y. 'A. al-Mara'shalī et al. (Beirut: Dār al-Ma'rifa, 1987), 4156; idem, *Sharḥ al-sunna*, ed. Sh. al-Arnā'ūt, 2nd ed. (Beirut: al-Maktab al-Islāmī, 1983), 3865.

19. Al-Ṭabarī, *Ṣarīḥ al-sunna*, ed. B. al-Ma'tūq, 2nd ed. (Kuwait: Maktabat Ahl al-Athar, 2005), 31–34; al-Ash'arī (attrib.), *al-Ibāna 'an uṣūl al-diyāna*, ed. Ṣ. al-Uṣaymī (Riyadh: Madār al-Muslim, 2011), 619–23. Al-Tirmidhī includes this tradition in a section on the caliphate (*bāb mā jā'a fī al-khilāfa*), see *al-Jāmi' al-kabīr*, ed. B. 'A. Ma'rūf (Beirut: Dār al-Gharb al-Islāmī, 1996), 2226.

20. Zaman, *Religion*, 171–73.

ramifications, it can be argued that Safīna’s tradition found its way to Kufa long before Ibn Ḥanbal’s promotion of ‘Alī as the fourth rightly guided caliph.²¹

Figure 1 shows the geographical distributions of the narrators of the second, third, and fourth generations after the ultimate source, Safīna. The cities where they permanently settled are given in brackets.²² As illustrated, Safīna’s hadith branches into four subsets, each of which spreads out. Yet it is clear that this hadith was mainly circulated in three Iraqi cities in the second half of the eighth century: Basra, Wasit, and Kufa.

The common link is Sa‘īd b. Jumhān, a Basran who claims to have met Safīna at Baṭnat Nakhla, near Medina.²³ Whether Sa‘īd b. Jumhān forged the hadith in question, its transmission in the next layer still accentuates Basra’s role, for both Ḥammād b. Salama (d. 167/784) and ‘Abd al-Wārith b. Sa‘īd (d. 180/796) are Basrans. Through them, the tradition was further narrated to Basran, Kufan, and Baghdadi traditionists. Safīna’s hadith traveled to another Iraqi city, Wasit, through a Wasiti narrator, al-‘Awwām b. al-Ḥawshab (d. 148/765f.), through whom the tradition further spread out to the townspeople. The fourth cluster of the chains of transmission in Figure 1 indicates Kufan access to this narration via Ḥashraj b. Nubāta. Although Abū Zur‘a al-Rāzī (d. 264/878) identifies him as a Wasiti, the majority only mention al-Kūfī as his attributive (*nisba*). No date for him is given, yet Ibn Sa‘d (d. 230/845) places his entry in the sixth generation (*ṭabaqa*) of the Kufans,²⁴ whose death years range from the 150s to the 180s (767–805)—this timespan tallies with the generation of other narrators in this layer. Ḥashraj b. Nubāta further disseminates this tradition to the Kufans, such as ‘Ubaydallāh b. Mūsā (d. 213/829), who does not seem to have traveled in pursuit of the hadith, and the city’s visitors, including Abū Dāwūd al-Ṭayālīsī (d. 203/818).²⁵ As for Surayj b. al-Nu‘mān (d. 217/832; Shurayh b. al-Nu‘mān in Ibn Sa‘d), he originally came from Khurasan and later settled in Baghdad. As there is no reference to his being in Kufa, it is impossible to clarify where the two met.²⁶

21. Every *isnād* in Fig. 1 ends in the source from which the given chain of transmission is taken; for example, the first *isnād* (Safīna – Sa‘īd b. Jumhān – al-‘Awwām b. Ḥawshab – Yazīd b. Hārūn – Aḥmad b. Sulaymān – al-Nasā‘ī) is found in al-Nasā‘ī, *Faḍā’il al-ṣaḥāba* (Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-‘Ilmiyya, 1984), 52. As it would be confusing to insert footnotes in Fig. 1, the references to the sources of the *isnāds* are given here. Ibn Abī ‘Āṣim narrates Safīna’s tradition from Abū Bakr b. Abī Shayba and Hudba b. Khālīd; see Ibn Abī ‘Āṣim, *al-Sunna*, ed. M. N. al-Albānī (Beirut: al-Maktab al-Islāmī, 1980), 1185, 1181. Nu‘aym b. Ḥammād narrates from Muḥammad b. Yazīd in one *isnād* and from Muḥammad b. Yazīd with Hushaym in the other; see Nu‘aym b. Ḥammād, *al-Fitan*, 1450, 245. Abū Dāwūd hears from ‘Amr b. ‘Awn and Sawwār b. ‘Abdallāh respectively: Abū Dāwūd al-Sijistānī, *Sunan*, 4647, 4646. For al-Fasawī’s transmission from ‘Ubaydallāh b. Mūsā, Qays b. Ḥafṣ and Sawwār b. ‘Abdallāh together, Bishr b. ‘Ubayd al-Dārīsī, and Sawwār b. ‘Abdallāh, see al-Fasawī, *Kitāb al-Ma‘rifā wa-l-tārīkh*, ed. A. D. al-‘Umarī (Medina: Maktabat al-Dār, 1990), 3: 457–58, 554; al-Fasawī, *Mashyakha*, ed. M. ‘A. al-Sarīf (Riyadh: Dār al-‘Āṣima, 2010), 6, 47. For al-Tirmidhī’s, see *al-Jāmi‘*, 2226. Al-Ṭabarī’s is found in his *Sharīh*, 33. Ibn Ḥanbal’s narrations of this hadith are found in his *Musnad*, ed. M. ‘A. ‘Aṭā (Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-‘Ilmiyya, 2008), 22547, 22551. ‘Abdallāh b. Aḥmad’s transmission of this hadith is found in Ibn Ḥanbal (attrib.), *Kitāb Faḍā’il al-ṣaḥāba*, ed. W. M. ‘Abbās (Mecca: Dār al-‘Ilm li-l-Ṭibā‘a wa-l-Nashr, 1983), 790. Abū Dāwūd al-Ṭayālīsī’s is found in his *Musnad*, ed. M. al-Turkī (Giza: Dār Hajar, 1999), 1203; and for ‘Alī b. al-Ja‘d’s transmission: *Musnad Ibn al-Ja‘d*, ed. ‘A. ‘A. ‘Abd al-Hādī (Kuwait: Maktabat al-Falāh, 1985), 3446.

22. For the transmitters of the tradition up to the fourth generation and their geographical affiliations, see Appendix 1.

23. Ibn Abī Ḥātim, *Kitāb al-Jarh wa-l-ta‘dīl* (Beirut: Dār Iḥyā’ al-Turāth al-‘Arabī, 1953), 4: 30; al-Mizzī, *Tahdhīb al-kamāl fī asmā’ al-rijāl*, ed. B. ‘A. Ma‘rūf (Beirut: Mu’assasat al-Risāla, 1987), 10: 376. For the location of Baṭnat Nakhla, see Yāqūt, *Mu‘jam al-buldān* (Beirut: Dār Ṣādir, 1977), 1: 449–50.

24. Ibn Sa‘d, *Kitāb al-Ṭabaqāt al-kabīr*, ed. ‘A. M. ‘Umar (Cairo: Maktabat al-Khānjī, 2001), 8: 505.

25. The sources note Abū Dāwūd al-Ṭayālīsī’s visit to Kufa; see “Muqaddimat al-tahqīq,” in *Musnad Abī Dāwūd al-Ṭayālīsī*, ed. M. al-Turkī (Giza: Dār Hajar, 1999), 1: 19–20.

26. Ibn Sa‘d, *al-Ṭabaqāt*, 9: 343; al-Mizzī, *Tahdhīb*, 10: 218–20.

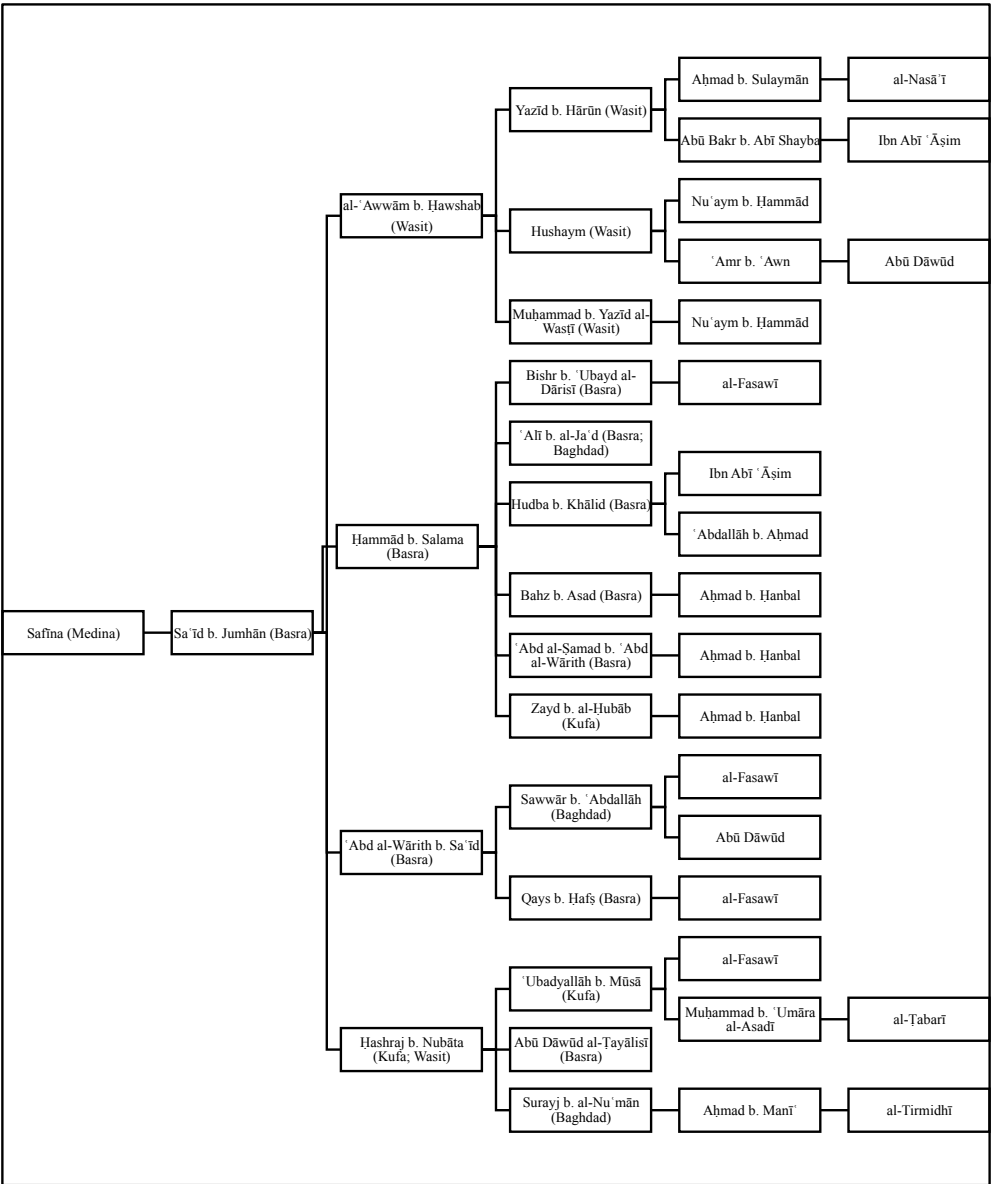


Fig. 1. The Circulation of Safīna’s Tradition

The fact that Safīna’s tradition became known in Kufa may indicate that the four-caliphs thesis was embraced by a segment of the city’s population, which then brings the Sunnification narrative into question. We do not have to wait for Ibn Ḥanbal for the recognition of ‘Alī’s status since the trend had already begun in Kufa two generations earlier. In other words, the Sunnification narrative gives too much weight to Ibn Ḥanbal while overlooking the role of the Kufans in formulating this Sunni doctrine. One could argue for the validity of the Sunnification narrative by suggesting that the hadith was promoted by the proto-Sunnis

in Kufa²⁷ who in this way Sunnified their Shi'i counterparts, but this argument can be dismissed since the Kufan narrator of Safīna's tradition, 'Ubaydallāh b. Mūsā, is described by some sources as a Rafidi or extreme in Shi'i partisanship (*ghuluww fī al-tashayyū'*). As a matter of fact, many Kufan narrators who disseminated the *faḍā'il* traditions on the first four caliphs are associated with Shi'ism to varying degrees, including a Batri Zaydi sympathy, as discussed below in sections II and III.

That said, the conclusion derived from the analysis of the transmission of Safīna's hadith must not be taken too far. Narrating or collecting a hadith should not be equated with identifying with its message. Hadith scholars do not necessarily think or act in accordance with what is commanded by the traditions they narrate. Indeed, it would be very challenging for male traditionists who narrate the hadith on the ritual and legal matters concerning menstruation to adhere to the Prophet's custom in this regard. Furthermore, if narration of a tradition amounts to belief in and promotion of the truth embodied in it, it would be difficult to reconcile one's transmission of contradictory traditions. For example, Ḥashraj b. Nubāta narrates the tradition that when constructing a mosque the Prophet set down a stone and ordered Abū Bakr to place a stone next to his, 'Umar to place one next to Abū Bakr's, and 'Uthmān to place one next to 'Umar's; then the Prophet declared: "These are the caliphs after me."²⁸ With its exclusion of 'Alī from the Prophet's designated successors, this hadith does not seem compatible with Safīna's hadith. It is impossible to know on the basis of his transmission of these two ambivalent traditions how Ḥashraj would have interpreted or rationalized their validity.

To substantiate the findings based on the analysis of Safīna's tradition, the next section examines the traditionists who narrate the *faḍā'il* traditions on the first four caliphs. By studying their loci of activity and their networks, it is possible to corroborate or negate the conclusion given here.

II. THE NARRATORS OF THE FOUR RIGHTLY GUIDED CALIPHS' MERITS

To verify the conclusion of the first section, that the four-caliphs thesis was first and foremost promoted in Basra and probably by the late eighth century came to be circulated in Kufa, this section analyzes the geographical distribution of the narrators who are known to have transmitted the *faḍā'il* traditions. This survey begins in 150/767, after which the traditionists following Sa'īd b. Jumhān lived, and ends in 240/855, the year before Ibn Ḥanbal died. By studying the arenas in which the four caliphs' virtues were commemorated, we can better evaluate the role of the Kufan traditionists in the making of this Sunni creed.

The hadith are collated from the following compilations: Abū Dāwūd al-Tayālīsī's *Musnad*; 'Abd al-Razzāq's (d. 211/827) *Muṣannaḥ*; 'Abdallāh b. al-Zubayr al-Ḥumaydī's (d. 219/834) *Musnad*; Nu'aym b. Ḥammād's (d. 228/844) *Kitāb al-Fitan*; 'Alī b. al-Ja'd's (d. 230/845) *Musnad*; Ibn Sa'd's (d. 230/845) *Ṭabaqāt*; Ibn Abī Shayba's (d. 235/849) *Muṣannaḥ*; al-Bukhārī's (d. 256/870) *Ṣaḥīḥ*; Muslim's (d. 261/875) *Ṣaḥīḥ*; Ibn Māja's (d. 273/887) *Sunan*; al-Sijistānī's (d. 275/889) *Sunan*; al-Fasawī's (d. ca. 277/890) *Kitāb al-Ma'rifa wa-l-tārīkh* and *Mashyakha*; al-Tirmidhī's (d. 279/892) *Jāmi'*; Ibn Abī Usāma's (d. 282/896) *Musnad*;²⁹ Ibn Abī 'Āṣim's (d. 287/900) *Kitāb al-Sunna*; and al-Nasā'ī's (d. 303/915) *Faḍā'il al-ṣaḥāba* and *Khaṣā'iṣ amīr al-mu'minīn*. On the basis of the collated

27. See n. 35.

28. Al-Mizzī, *Tahdhīb*, 6: 508.

29. This *musnad* was reconstructed by Nūr al-Dīn al-Haythamī (d. 807/1404f.).

data, thirty-seven traditionists have been identified; they are listed in Appendix 2, arranged in chronological order.

To illustrate the changes in the geographical distribution of these traditionists over time, I divide them into three periods AH: 150–179, 180–209, and 210–240. There are four in the first period, twenty in the second, and thirteen in the third (see Appendix 3).

By 179*h*, all the narrators came from Basra. In the next period, eight out of the twenty came from Kufa (40%), with five from Basra (25%). Wasit contributed two narrators (10%). (This does not seem very impressive, considering the circulation of Safīna's tradition through al-ʿAwwām b. Ḥawshab and his dependents there, but see below.) In the third period, both Kufa and Basra were still foremost: respectively, five and two out of thirteen traditionists.

Two trends merit a remark. First, in the third period the geographical distribution expanded from Iraq and the Hijaz to the other provinces, Egypt, Yemen, and Shām. Second, the role of Baghdad became more visible in the third period.³⁰

The geographical distribution of the traditionists seems to support the Basran origin of the four-caliphs thesis and its dissemination there and in Kufa. Wasit is underrepresented: the Wasiti traditionists, Yazīd b. Hārūn and Hushaym b. Bashīr—two scholars in the second period—are also two of the three who heard Safīna's tradition from al-ʿAwwām b. Ḥawshab. That is to say, although Safīna's tradition was transmitted via a Wasiti chain, its dissemination in Wasit may have been confined to a specific circle of scholars.³¹

In short, the conclusion derived from the analysis of the transmission of Safīna's tradition, as far as its impact upon Basra and Kufa is concerned, can be verified by the analysis of the traditionists involved. That is to say, the Sunnification narrative is likely to be wrong in two aspects: first, if the Sunnification ever happened, the terminus a quo should be placed a generation or two before Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal. Second, the Sunnification narrative presumes an outside movement that changed the orientation of the Kufan Shiʿi traditionists. The results of my analysis suggest a transformation within the city itself, since most of the Kufan narrators in the second period are not known to have traveled in pursuit of knowledge.³² The next section examines the Kufan traditionists known to have circulated the *faḍā'il* traditions, especially those from the second period, in order to explore the factors that may have prompted them to agree on the recognition of the four caliphs, regardless of their ranking in the hierarchy of merits.

III. THE KUFAN TRADITIONISTS IN THE MAKING OF THE SUNNI “ORTHODOXY”

The second half of the eighth century, which roughly overlaps with the lifetime of the traditionists of the second period (whose death dates range from 180 to 209*h*), witnessed the transformation of the Zaydi community from Batri to Jarudi. An important tipping point occurred after the death of the Batri leader, al-Ḥasan b. Ṣāliḥ b. Ḥayy, in 167/784.³³ Some

30. It is clear from Appendix 2 that many narrators, e.g., Ibn Saʿd, ʿAffān b. Muslim, and ʿUthmān b. Abī Shayba, eventually moved to Baghdad.

31. This may be explained away by the city's historic association with the Umayyad authority. Built by al-Ḥajjāj b. Yūsuf to house Syrian troops, the ʿUthmānī sentiment propagated by the Umayyad protégés is likely to have lingered, even after the Abbasids came to power. Wasit, after all, was the last fortress of resistance to the new dynasty. See *EI2*, art. Wāsiṭ (M. Sakly). The four-caliphs notion was perhaps circulated in Wasit by sympathizers of al-Nafs al-Zakiyya's rebellion in 145/762*f.*, for which both Yazīd b. Hārūn and Hushaym b. Bashīr showed support. Al-Iṣfahānī, *Maqātil al-tālibiyyīn*, ed. A. Ṣaqr (Qom: Manshūrāt al-Sharīf al-Raḍī, 1995), 308, 311.

32. Only Jarīr b. ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd, ʿAbdallāh b. Idrīs, and Wakīʿ traveled; see Appendix 2, nos. 7, 9, and 12 respectively.

33. Van Ess, *Theology and Society*, 286–89.

of the followers of the Zaydi leader ʿĪsā b. Zayd decided to make peace with the Abbasid authority, which had intensified its persecution of the ʿAlids and their supporters since the revolt of Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh (known as al-Nafs al-Zakiyya) and his brother Ibrāhīm in 145/762f.³⁴ The sociopolitical atmosphere likely drove many Batri Zaydi traditionists to abandon, or at least conceal, their militant partisanship for an ʿAlid claimant; as such, they came to align with their non-Shi'i counterparts in a manner that substantially attenuated their distinctive identity.³⁵

This trend is reflected in the reconciliatory stance displayed by the Kufan Shi'i traditionists analyzed here: Jarīr b. ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd and Wakīʿ in the second period, and al-Faḍl b. Dukayn and ʿUbaydallāh b. Mūsā in the third. Except for Jarīr, the other three can be counted among the disciples of al-Ḥasan b. Ḥayy.³⁶ Both Wakīʿ and his father, al-Jarrāh b. Malīḥ, were his students.³⁷ Wakīʿ held him in high esteem and compared him to Saʿīd b. Jubayr (d. ca. 94/711f.), an important Kufan scholar in quranic studies and hadith, and persistently circulated his hadith, even though some were rejected because of his approval of rebellion (*kāna yarā al-sayf*).³⁸ Al-Faḍl b. Dukayn, the head of a Zaydi group himself, praises al-Ḥasan b. Ḥayy as the best hadith transmitter he has ever known, who never errs.³⁹ Al-Faḍl b. Dukayn's knowledge of the minutiae of al-Ḥasan b. Ḥayy's life also suggests a strong tie between them.⁴⁰ ʿUbaydallāh b. Mūsā studied the Quran under al-Ḥasan b. Ḥayy and also narrated from him.⁴¹ Jarīr b. ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd does not seem to have directly associated with him, but it is necessary to take into account non-Batri Zaydis in Kufa, whether Shi'i or not, in order to understand the transformation of the Batri Zaydi traditionists in a wider context.

Al-Ḥasan b. Ḥayy recognized the legitimacy of the first six years of ʿUthmān's caliphate, but he repudiated the last six years.⁴² Although this view caused some tension,⁴³ it

34. Al-Isfahānī, *Maqātil*, 355–58. See also Haider, *Origin*, 200–213.

35. In the period concerned here, there existed in Kufa a group of traditionists identified as the proponents of the sunna, who strove to delineate their community from “others,” such as the Kharijis and Rafidis, by refusing to narrate traditions to and from them. This group is represented by Zāʿida b. Qudāma and his students, including al-Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī al-Juʿfī, Abū Usāma (Appendix 2, no. 16), and Aḥmad b. Yūnus. For Zāʿida b. Qudāma, see al-Dhahabī, *Siyar*, 1704–5; Ibn Saʿd, *al-Ṭabaqāt*, 8: 499 (where he is characterized as *ṣāhib sunna wa-jamāʿa*). For al-Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī al-Juʿfī, see al-Mizzī, *Tahdhīb*, 6: 453; Ibn Saʿd, *al-Ṭabaqāt*, 8: 519. For Aḥmad b. Yūnus, see al-Dhahabī, *Siyar*, 835; Ibn Saʿd, *al-Ṭabaqāt*, 8: 529 (where he is referred to as *ṣāhib sunna wa-jamāʿa*). For other Kufan traditionists identified as *ṣāhib sunna wa-jamāʿa*, who adopted a similar stance toward the so-called deviant groups, see n. 66.

36. Ibn Abī al-Rijāl, *Maṣlaʿ al-budūr wa-majmaʿ al-buḥūr fī tarājim rijāl al-zaydiyya*, ed. ʿA. M. Hajar (Saʿīda: Markaz Ahl al-Bayt li-l-Dirāsāt al-Islāmiyya, 2004), 3: 145 (ʿUbaydallāh b. Mūsā); 4: 26 (al-Faḍl b. Dukayn); 4: 439 (Wakīʿ). Three other traditionists examined here, who are not known to have embraced Shi'i tendencies, are also associated with al-Ḥasan b. Ḥayy: Muḥammad b. Bishr (from the second period; see Appendix 2, no. 19) is among his companions (*min aṣḥāb al-Ḥasan b. Ṣāliḥ*; Ibn Abī Ḥatīm, *al-Jarḥ*, 7: 210); ʿAbda b. Sulaymān (from the second period; see Appendix 2, no. 8) complimented him by claiming that God would be ashamed to torture him (Ibn ʿAdī, *al-Kāmil fī ḍuʿafāʾ al-rijāl*, ed. ʿĀ. A. ʿAbd al-Mawjūd and ʿA. M. Muʿawwid [Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-ʿIlmiyya, n.d.], 3: 147); and Qabīṣa b. Uqba (from the third period; see Appendix 2, no. 27) is one of his students (al-Mizzī, *Tahdhīb*, 6: 180).

37. Al-Mizzī, *Tahdhīb*, 6: 179–80.

38. Al-ʿUqaylī, *Kitāb al-Duʿafāʾ*, ed. Ḥ. ʿA. Ismāʿīl (Riyadh: Dār al-Ṣumayʿī, 2000), 251–53. See also van Ess's discussion of Wakīʿ's connections with him in *Theology and Society*, 286–87.

39. Ibn ʿAdī, *al-Kāmil*, 3: 147–48.

40. Ibn Saʿd, *al-Ṭabaqāt*, 8: 496; van Ess, *Theology and Society*, 286–87.

41. Al-Mizzī, *Tahdhīb*, 6: 183; Ibn ʿAdī, *al-Kāmil*, 3: 146.

42. Van Ess, *Theology and Society*, 287.

43. Al-Fasawī, *al-Maʿrifā*, 2: 805–6. The circle of Zāʿida b. Qudāma, especially Abū Usāma (see Appendix 2, no. 16), seems to have detested and dissociated itself from al-Ḥasan b. Ḥayy; al-Mizzī, *Tahdhīb*, 6: 183–84. For non-

also left more flexibility for his disciples to come to terms with non-Shi'i appreciation of 'Uthmān. Wakī' and al-Faḍl b. Dukayn opined that the most excellent men after the Prophet were Abū Bakr, 'Umar, 'Alī, and then 'Uthmān.⁴⁴ Despite being placed after 'Alī, 'Uthmān was considered one of the best Companions of the Prophet. Yet such a historical trajectory was not uncontroversial, as Wakī' was condemned by Marwān b. Mu'āwiya (d. 193/809) as a Rafidi—an often misused label at the time.⁴⁵ Hence, when 'Ubaydallāh b. Mūsā's Shi'i conviction was displayed in his animosity toward 'Alī's opponents, especially Mu'āwiya, he was also accused of being a Rafidi.⁴⁶ His condemnation of the Companions warring against 'Alī struck a nerve among the proto-Sunni traditionists, the example *par excellence* being Ibn Ḥanbal's circle; as a result, he was depicted as “most extreme and evil in belief” (*aghlā wa-aswa' madhhaban*) by al-Jūzjānī (d. 259/873).⁴⁷ Yet 'Ubaydallāh b. Mūsā did narrate the traditions highlighting 'Alī's recognition of Abū Bakr and 'Umar's excellence (“the best of us after the Prophet are Abū Bakr and 'Umar, may God be satisfied with them”) in addition to Saḥna's tradition.⁴⁸ The Batri Zaydi traditionists' alacrity in coming to terms with those alert to the overt affection for 'Alī and his family is best illustrated by al-Faḍl b. Dukayn's response, when asked whether one should practice Shi'i sympathy (*tashayyu'*): “Love for 'Alī is worship and the best form of worship is what is hidden” (*ḥubb 'Alī 'ibāda wa-afḍal 'ibāda mā kutima*).⁴⁹ Al-Ḥasan b. Ḥayy's take on 'Uthmān, which allowed the Batri Zaydis to find mutual ground with other Kufan traditionists, echoed the trend among the non-Batri Shi'is in Kufa. Jarīr b. 'Abd al-Ḥamīd opined: “Abū Bakr, then 'Umar, and then 'Alī are better than 'Uthmān to me, and I would rather fall from the sky than vilify 'Uthmān.”⁵⁰ This

Kufan traditionists' (Ibn al-Mubārak and al-Jūzjānī) negative assessment of al-Ḥasan b. Ḥayy, see al-'Ijlī, *Tārīkh al-thiqāt*, ed. 'A. Qal'ajī (Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-'Ilmiyya, 1984), 115; al-Jūzjānī, *al-Shajara*, 98–100.

44. Al-Nāshī' al-Akbar, *Masā'il*, 65. The Shi'i conviction of Wakī' is also manifest in *Faḍā'il al-sahāba*, his non-extant hadith collection, in which the section on 'Alī's merits is placed before that on 'Uthmān, against the convention of the time which arranges the merits of the first four caliphs or the traditions on their authorities in chronological order. I can only find the description of Wakī' as *musnad* in a later source: al-Dhahabī, *Siyar*, 4125.

45. Al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī, *Tārīkh madīnat al-salām*, ed. B. 'A. Ma'rūf (Beirut: Dār al-Gharb al-Islāmī, 2001), 15: 652. When teaching in Mecca in 184/800f., Wakī' narrated a tradition stating that the Prophet's body was left without being buried for a day and a night, until it swelled. Upon hearing this, the Quraysh attempted to crucify him. Only through the intervention of Sufyān b. 'Uyayna did Wakī' narrowly escape. Al-Fasawī, *al-Ma'rifa*, 1: 175–76. See also al-Dhahabī, *Siyar*, 4126. For Marwān b. Mu'āwiya, see Ibn Sa'd, *al-Ṭabaqāt*, 9: 331. Wakī' being described as a Rafidi illustrates the elasticity of the application of this term in this period. Although *rafīd* unlike *tashayyu'* is used as a derogatory label for those who vilify the first two caliphs or any of the Companions, it should be borne in mind that its application, as any label used in the premodern Islamic world, can vary in accordance with the context, the addressee, and the purpose. One who holds 'Alī in higher regard than 'Uthmān or Abū Bakr can be taken as having engaged in *rafīd*; see al-Barbahārī, *Sharḥ al-sunna*, ed. Kh. b. Q. al-Radādī (Medina: Maktabat al-Ghurabā' al-Athariyya, 1993), 118, 134; al-Khallāl, *al-Sunna*, ed. 'A. al-Zahrānī (Riyadh: Dār al-Rāya, 1989), 1: 489, 492–93.

46. It is mentioned by Ibn Manda (perhaps al-Dhahabī means Muḥammad b. Ishāq, d. 395/1005) that 'Ubaydallāh b. Mūsā forbade students named Mu'āwiya from attending his lectures; al-Dhahabī, *Siyar*, 2639.

47. Ibn Ḥanbal's views on 'Ubaydallāh b. Mūsā are preserved through later quotations. Al-'Uqaylī notes that he asks a student not to narrate traditions from him, but, in al-Mizzī's work, he simply suggests leaving out his bad traditions (*ahādīth sū'*); al-'Uqaylī, *al-Du'afā'*, 876; al-Mizzī, *Tahdhīb*, 19: 167–68. Al-Jūzjānī and Abū Dāwūd al-Sijistānī, who characterizes 'Ubaydallāh b. Mūsā as a fervent Shi'i (*shī'ī muḥtarīq*), whose traditions are, however, acceptable, were both affiliated with Ibn Ḥanbal's circle; al-Jūzjānī, *al-Shajara*, 130; al-Ājurri, *Su'ālāt Abī 'Ubayd al-Ājurri li-l-imām Abī Dāwūd Sulaymān b. al-Ash'ath al-Sijistānī fī ma'rifat al-rijāl wa-jarḥihim wa-ta'dilihim*, ed. M. 'A. al-Azharī (Cairo: al-Fārūq al-Ḥadītha li-l-Ṭibā'a wa-l-Nashr, 2010), 36; *EI3*, art. Abū Dāwūd al-Sijistānī (Ch. Melchert); Ibn 'Asākir, *Tārīkh madīnat Dimashq*, ed. 'U. al-'Amrī (Beirut: Dār al-Fikr, 1995), 7: 281.

48. See Appendix 2, no. 26.

49. Al-Khaṭīb, *Tārīkh*, 14: 312.

50. Al-Khaṭīb, *Tārīkh*, 8: 190.

Shi'ī sentiment, more or less tallying with Batri Zaydism, embodies a potential compromise among the Kufan traditionists. Since Jarīr b. 'Abd al-Ḥamīd is not unique in taking part in this 'Uthmān-friendly trend,⁵¹ we should investigate the matrices upon which such a reconciliatory attitude came to the fore.

Based on the biographical sources, an examination of the lives of the eight Kufan traditionists in the second period evinces certain similarities in addition to their mutual association with Kufa and commitment to the transmission and collection of the hadith corpus. Such similarities do not necessarily bear direct relevance to the promotion of the four-caliphs thesis, implicitly the acceptance of 'Uthmān, but they may have facilitated the formation of a communal identity—the Kufan *ahl al-ḥadīth* as a community as opposed to their enemies.

First, they were all connected through three informants: Sufyān al-Thawrī (d. 161/778), Hishām b. 'Urwa (d. 146/763), and al-A'mash (d. 148/765).⁵² The mutual sources for their hadith per se do not explain why the Kufan traditionists in question disseminated the hadith eulogizing the four caliphs' virtues, since these three informants were not always responsible for the *faḍā'il* traditions.⁵³ Yet the fact that they shared a common pool of hadith to a certain extent indicates their engagement in an overlapping social network. That is, they studied, worked, and interacted in a milieu that was more or less bound together. Given these ties, it is perhaps less surprising that these traditionists chose a similar *modus vivendi*, as reflected in the second commonality.

Second, except for Muḥammad b. Bishr, about whom little is revealed in the biographical sources,⁵⁴ and Abū Mu'āwiya, who was associated with Hārūn al-Rashīd's court,⁵⁵ the rest of the traditionists seem to have adopted a renunciant attitude toward worldly authority and temptation. Jarīr b. 'Abd al-Ḥamīd rejected a sum of money offered to him out of piety.⁵⁶ The lives of 'Abda b. Sulaymān and 'Abdallāh b. Numayr are obscure, like that of Muḥammad b. Bishr, but the former was described as the most pious man in Kufa,⁵⁷ while the latter was praised by Abū Ḥatīm as righteous (*mustaqīm al-amr*).⁵⁸ Abū Usāma is a *ḥakīm nāsik* (ascetic sage).⁵⁹ Wakī' and 'Abdallāh b. Idrīs both despised association with the authority (*sulṭān*).⁶⁰ Furthermore, mild asceticism can be accompanied by the tendency toward dis-

51. See, for example, al-A'mash's view on 'Uthmān; van Ess, *Theology and Society*, 272–74.

52. Al-Mizzī, *Tahdhīb*, 4: 541–42 (Jarīr b. 'Abd al-Ḥamīd); 25: 123–25 (Abū Mu'āwiya); 7: 217–20 (Abū Usāma); 24: 520–22 (Muḥammad b. Bishr); 16: 225–27 ('Abdallāh b. Numayr); 30: 463–67 (Wakī'); 18: 530–32 ('Abda b. Sulaymān); 14: 293–95 ('Abdallāh b. Idrīs).

53. For Sufyān al-Thawrī's perspective, see n. 2. It is also noted by Abū Dāwūd al-Sijistānī (*Sunan*, 4631) that Sufyān acknowledges five caliphs, the first four and 'Umar b. 'Abd al-'Azīz. Al-A'mash is noted for his Shi'ī inclination and for his dissemination of 'Alī's *faḍā'il*; al-Isfahānī, *Kitāb al-Aghānī*, ed. Y. al-Baqā'ī and Gh. al-Shaykh (Beirut: Mu'assasat al-A'lamī, 2000), 7: 200; al-'Ijlī, *Tārīkh*, 205–6. For further discussion, van Ess, *Theology and Society*, 272–74; Haider, *Origin*, 221–28. I cannot find any reference to Hishām b. 'Urwa's take in this regard.

54. He is regarded as a reliable narrator, with the most tenacious memory in Kufa at that time (*aḥfaz*); al-Mizzī, *Tahdhīb*, 24: 520–23; al-Dhahabī, *Siyar*, 3358–59.

55. Al-Khaṭīb, *Tārīkh*, 3: 135.

56. Al-Khaṭīb, *Tārīkh*, 8: 190–91; A. M. N. Sayf, *Yahyā b. Ma'īn wa-kitābuhu al-Tārīkh: Dirāsa wa-tartīb wa-tahqīq* (Mecca: Markaz al-Baḥth al-'Ilmī wa-l-ḥyā' al-Turāth al-Islāmī, 1979), 2: 81–82. A reference to his being a *ṣāḥib layl* (worshiper by night) and a *rāhib* (a monk) is found in al-Dhahabī, *Siyar*, 1287; al-Mizzī, *Tahdhīb*, 4: 549.

57. Al-'Ijlī, *Tārīkh*, 315; Ibn Abī Ḥatīm, *al-Jarḥ*, 6: 89. Along with 'Abdallāh b. Idrīs, he is regarded as the most pious man of the city; al-Dhahabī, *Siyar*, 2352.

58. This, of course, is not equivalent to being ascetic; al-Mizzī, *Tahdhīb*, 16: 228.

59. Al-'Ijlī, *Tārīkh*, 130; al-Mizzī, *Tahdhīb*, 7: 223.

60. For Wakī's attitude, see al-Mizzī, *Tahdhīb*, 30: 471–73. For 'Abdallāh b. Idrīs, see al-Khaṭīb, *Tārīkh*, 11: 70–71; al-'Ijlī, *Tārīkh*, 249.

sociation from the regime, which is characteristic of many traditionists of the time, notably Ibn Ḥanbal. Leading a life of humility, without being tarnished by worldly authority and wealth, embodies a worldview central to the formation of the traditionists as a definite community. For them, religious authority is built upon the Quran, the Sunna, as constituted by the Prophetic hadith and the practices of the Companions and the Successors, and the consensus of the community (*ijmāʿ*).⁶¹ Aloofness from the ruler allows the traditionists to claim and exercise limited but independent authority—likely limited to the local populace, one’s circle of disciples, and the traditionist scholarly community—without governmental interference. In other words, mild asceticism facilitated cultivation of their collective identity.

Third, some of the traditionists examined here seem to have distanced themselves from those they regarded as the innovators (*ahl al-bidaʿ*) or the tendentious (*ahl al-ahwāʾ*). The sources are reticent as to the leanings of ‘Abda b. Sulaymān, Muḥammad b. Bishr, and ‘Abdallāh b. Numayr, but we are told of the others’ perspectives. Although Abū Muʿāwiya is a member of the Kufan Murjiʿa,⁶² he spread anti-Rafidi traditions at Hārūn al-Rashīd’s court while asserting ‘Alī’s status.⁶³ Jarīr b. ‘Abd al-Ḥamīd’s suspicion of the *ahl al-ahwāʾ* and *ahl al-bidaʿ* is articulated through his rejection of the Murjiʿi definition of faith⁶⁴ and his refusal to narrate hadith to the Qadaris as well as those who profess temporary marriage (*muʿa*) or return to life before resurrection (*rajʿa*)—both associated with the Ghulāt and Rafidis.⁶⁵ ‘Abdallāh b. Idrīs and Abū Usāma are categorized as adherents of the sunna (*ṣāhib sunna wa-jamāʿa*), with the former defending ‘Uthmān’s dignity, in an anti-Rafidi or anti-Shiʿi tenor.⁶⁶ Wakīʿ is said to have equated Jahmīs, or those who claim that the Quran is created, with infidels, who are to be given two choices: penitence or death.⁶⁷ Although there is not always agreement on the articles of faith that constitute the sunna, such as the validity of Ḥamza’s quranic reading (*qirāʾat Ḥamza*) and the definition of faith (*īmān*),⁶⁸ it is clear that they were bound together by the threat of “heretic” doctrines posed by the *ahl al-ahwāʾ* and *ahl al-bidaʿ*. That is, the barrier between the hadith scholars with different perspectives on the ‘Uthmān-‘Alī episode may have been loosened when the need to forge an alliance against mutual enemies became urgent.

With their reconciliatory attitude, whether Shiʿi, Batri or other, hadith narrators may have identified themselves with the proto-Sunni traditionists more than with the so-called Rafidis.

61. For the term *sunna* and its change over time in early Islam, see G. H. A. Juynboll, “Some New Ideas on the Development of Sunna as a Technical Term in Early Islam,” *Jerusalem Studies in Arabic and Islam* 10 (1987): 97–118; Scott C. Lucas, “Where Are the Legal *Ḥadīth*? A Study of the *Muṣannaf* of Ibn Abī Shayba,” *Islamic Law and Society* 15 (2008): 283–314.

62. Ibn Saʿd, *al-Ṭabaqāt*, 8: 515; al-ʿIjlī, *Tārīkh*, 403.

63. Al-Khaṭīb, *Tārīkh*, 3: 135–37.

64. Abū Dāwūd al-Sijistānī, *Masāʾil al-Imām Aḥmad riwāyat Abī Dāwūd Sulaymān b. al-Ashʿath al-Sijistānī*, ed. T. ‘A. Muḥammad (Cairo: Maktabat Ibn Taymiyya, 1999), 364.

65. Al-Khaṭīb, *Tārīkh*, 8: 186–87.

66. For ‘Abdallāh b. Idrīs, see Ibn Saʿd, *al-Ṭabaqāt*, 8: 511 (where he is referred to as *ṣāhib sunna wa-jamāʿa*). His aversion to Ḥamza’s recitation tallies well with a segment of the proto-Sunnis; al-Dhahabī, *Siyar*, 2352–53. He once stated that humankind would perish if they were all implicit in the murder of ‘Uthmān; Sayf, *Yahyā b. Maʿīn*, 2: 295–97. Abū Usāma once stated that one who sees ‘Alī above ‘Uthmān is an idiot, thus conforming to the tenets of the *ahl sunna wa-jamāʿa*; Ibn Saʿd, *al-Ṭabaqāt*, 8: 517 (where he is referred to as *ṣāhib sunna wa-jamāʿa*); Sayf, *Yahyā b. Maʿīn*, 2: 128.

67. Abū Dāwūd al-Sijistānī, *Masāʾil*, 357–59.

68. Ibn Ḥanbal and Abū Bakr b. ‘Ayyāsh both dislike Ḥamza’s reading; *EI2*, art. Ḥamza b. Ḥabīb (Ch. Pellat); al-Dhahabī, *Siyar*, 1567–68. On the contrary, many Kufan traditionists, such as Jarīr b. ‘Abd al-Ḥamīd, did learn the *qirāʾa* from Ḥamza; Ibn al-Jazarī, *Ghāyat al-nihāya fī ṭabaqāt al-qurrāʾ*, ed. G. Bergsträsser (Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-ʿIlmiyya, 2006), 1: 174.

They all acknowledged the merits of the first four caliphs, although they disagreed on their places in the hierarchy of excellence. The commonalities—their shared networks, practice of asceticism (*tazahhud*), reserved manner when it came to denouncing ‘Uthmān, and condemnation of “innovations,” such as the createdness of the Quran—situate them in close proximity to the community of the *ahl al-sunna* in their city. Although the differences remained noticeable and, in some cases, caused a furor or criticism, such minutiae as identity markers eventually ceased to be effective with the lapse of time.

CONCLUSION

This paper has investigated the historical trajectory of the Sunnification narrative, which has not been questioned by current scholarship. According to this narrative, the evolution of the early Kufan Shi‘i traditionists, especially Batri Zaydis, and their absorption into the proto-Sunni community in the eighth and ninth centuries were predicated upon external influences exerted by the traditionists from other cities, such as Ibn Ḥanbal. Through an examination of the transmission history of Saḥīna’s hadith, which shows its early circulation in the Iraqi cities of Basra, Kufa, and Wasit, and of the geographical distribution of the traditionists involved in the dissemination of the four-caliphs’ *faḍā’il*, the present study subjected the Sunnification narrative to scrutiny.

The analyses suggest that the Kufan traditionists’ participation in the establishment of the four-caliphs thesis began in the late eighth century, earlier than the time of Ibn Ḥanbal. Their contribution in this regard outweighed that of their counterparts in other cities, except for Basra, where the four-caliphs thesis very likely originated and the earliest narrators of the *faḍā’il* traditions first appeared. The Kufan traditionists discussed here were not concentrated in one sectarian category. Some of them, such as ‘Abdallāh b. Idrīs and Abū Usāma, were identified as adherents to the sunna, yet many were associated with Shi‘i convictions, whether Batri Zaydi or not, although the labels given to them are not always well delineated. Investigation of the biographical information concerning these traditionists points to certain commonalities—shared interpersonal links, a renunciant worldview expressed through a pious lifestyle or keeping a distance from authority and worldly temptation, and suspicion of the “innovations” propagated by the exponents of reason and other sects. Situated in the context of increasing persecution of the ‘Alids and their partisans implemented by the Abbasids in the second half of the eighth century, it is plausible that the Batri Zaydi Shi‘i traditionists gradually assimilated into the proto-Sunni community. This does not seem to have been precipitated by an external force, however, as proposed by the Sunnification narrative. Rather, it was the Kufan communal give-and-take, affording a latitude of explicit and implicit affection dwelling on the memory of ‘Alī and ‘Uthmān, that facilitated the convergence of elements with divergent perspectives on the early history of the Muslim community, and, concomitantly, the formation of the four-caliphs thesis as one of the defining Sunni doctrines.

APPENDIX 1. TRANSMITTERS OF SAḤĪNA’S HADITH, AS LISTED IN FIGURE 1

‘Abd al-Ṣamad b. ‘Abd al-Wārith (d. 206 or 207/821–823). Basran; see Ibn Sa‘d, *al-Ṭabaqāt*, 9: 301.

‘Abd al-Wārith b. Sa‘īd (d. 180/796). Basran; see Appendix 2, no. 5.

Abū Dāwūd al-Ṭayālīsī (d. 203/818). Basran; see Appendix 2, no. 18.

‘Alī b. al-Ja‘d (d. 230/845). Basran, later settled in Baghdad; see Ibn Sa‘d, *al-Ṭabaqāt*, 9: 340–41.

al-‘Awwām b. al-Ḥawshab (d. 148/765f.). Wasiti; see Ibn Sa‘d, *al-Ṭabaqāt*, 9: 313.

Bahz b. Asad (d. ca. 197/812f.). Basran; see Ibn Sa'd, *al-Ṭabaqāt*, 9: 299; al-ʿIjlī, *Tārīkh*, 87.

Bishr b. ʿUbayd. Basran; see Ibn Ḥibbān, *al-Thiqāt*, ed. M. ʿA. Khān (Hyderabad: Maṭbaʿat Majlis Dāʿirat al-Maʿārif al-ʿUthmāniyya, 1973), 8: 141.

Ḥammād b. Salama (d. 167/784). Basran; see Ibn Sa'd, *al-Ṭabaqāt*, 9: 282.

Ḥashraj b. Nubāta. Kufan; see al-Mizzī, *Tahdhīb*, 6: 506–9; Sayf, *Yahyā b. Maʿīn*, 2: 119; and Ibn Abī Ḥātim, *al-Jarḥ*, 3: 296 for the identification as a Wasiti.

Hudba b. Khālīd (d. bet. 235–237/849–852). Basran; see al-ʿIjlī, *Tārīkh*, 455; Ibn Abī Ḥātim, *al-Jarḥ*, 9: 114.

Hushaym b. Bashīr (d. 183/799). Wasiti; see Appendix 2, no. 6.

Muḥammad b. Yazīd. Wasiti; see Ibn Sa'd, *al-Ṭabaqāt*, 9: 316.

Qays b. Ḥaḥṣ (d. 227/841f.). Basran; see Ibn Abī Ḥātim, *al-Jarḥ*, 7: 95.

Sawwār b. ʿAbdallāh (d. 245/859). Born in Basra, moved to Baghdad as the judge of the city; see al-Khaṭīb, *Tārīkh*, 10: 290; Ibn Abī Ḥātim, *al-Jarḥ*, 4: 271.

Surayj b. al-Nuʿmān (d. 217/832). Khurasani by origin, later settled in Baghdad; see: Ibn Sa'd, *al-Ṭabaqāt*, 9: 343; al-Mizzī, *Tahdhīb*, 10: 218–20.

ʿUbaydallāh b. Mūsā (d. 213/829). Kufan; see Ibn Sa'd, *al-Ṭabaqāt*, 8: 522–23; al-ʿIjlī, *Tārīkh*, 319; Ibn Abī Ḥātim, *al-Jarḥ*, 5: 334–35.

Yazīd b. Hārūn (d. 206/821). Wasiti; see Appendix 2, no. 22.

Zayd b. al-Ḥubāb (d. 203/819). Kufan; see Ibn Sa'd, *al-Ṭabaqāt*, 8: 526.

APPENDIX 2. NARRATORS OF THE *FADĀʾIL* ON THE FOUR CALIPHS

Below is a list of the thirty-seven transmitters of the hadith on the virtues of the first four caliphs, in chronological order, with remarks on the arenas of their activities. I only note locale of origin when it differs from where they settled, or for clarification (as in the case of Maʿmar b. Rāshid).

1. Maʿmar b. Rāshid (d. 153/770). Basran by origin, later settled in Yemen.
See Ibn Sa'd, *al-Ṭabaqāt*, 8: 105; al-Mizzī, *Tahdhīb*, 28: 307–9. For his narration of hadith on Abū Bakr's merits: ʿAbd al-Razzāq, *al-Muṣannaf*, 20397, 20398, 20399; ʿUmar's: ʿAbd al-Razzāq, *al-Muṣannaf*, 20380–86, 20405, 20407; on both Abū Bakr's and ʿUmar's virtues: ʿAbd al-Razzāq, *al-Muṣannaf*, 20403–4, 20406; on ʿUthmān: ʿAbd al-Razzāq, *al-Muṣannaf*, 20400, 20408–9, 20962–67, 20970–74; on the first three caliphs: ʿAbd al-Razzāq, *al-Muṣannaf*, 20401–2, 20968–69; on ʿAlī: ʿAbd al-Razzāq, *al-Muṣannaf*, 60646–47, 20388–92, 20394–96, 20476; on the four caliphs: ʿAbd al-Razzāq, *al-Muṣannaf*, 20387.
2. Shuʿba b. al-Ḥajjāj (d. 160/777). Wasiti by origin, settled in Basra, but it is noteworthy that he heard from many Kufan sources.
See *EI2*, art. Shuʿba b. al-Ḥajjāj (G. H. A. Juynboll); Ibn Sa'd, *al-Ṭabaqāt*, 9: 280–81. For his transmission of the traditions on Abū Bakr's merits: Abū Dāwūd al-Ṭayālīsī, *Musnad*, 213, 298; al-Fasawī, *al-Maʿrifa*, 1: 452; 3: 460; on ʿUmar's: al-Fasawī, *al-Maʿrifa*, 1: 456; ʿAlī b. al-Jaʿd, *Musnad*, 606; on Abū Bakr's and ʿUmar's: Abū Dāwūd al-Ṭayālīsī, *Musnad*, 2475; Ibn Abī ʿĀsim, *al-Sunna*, 1429; on ʿAlī's: Abū Dāwūd al-Ṭayālīsī, *Musnad*, 202, 206, 96, 156, 173; Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim*, ed. N. M. al-Fāriyābī (Riyadh: Dār Ṭayba, 2005), 2404; on the merits of the four caliphs: Abū Dāwūd al-Ṭayālīsī, *Musnad*, 232.
3. Wuhayb b. Khālīd (d. 165/781f.). Assigned to the section of Basran scholars by Ibn Sa'd.

- See *al-Ṭabaqāt*, 9: 288. For his hadith on the virtues of the first three caliphs: Abū Dāwūd al-Ṭayālīsī, *Musnad*, 2210; on that of 'Alī: Abū Dāwūd al-Ṭayālīsī, *Musnad*, 2563.
4. Ḥammād b. Salama (d. 167/784). Based in Basra, visited Mecca in the year when 'Aṭā' b. Abī Rabāḥ died (114/732).
See al-Dhahabī, *Siyar*, 1557; Ibn Sa'd, *al-Ṭabaqāt*, 9: 282. For his hadith on Abū Bakr's virtues: Abū Dāwūd al-Ṭayālīsī, *Musnad*, 1649; Ibn Abī 'Āṣim, *al-Sunna*, 1167, 1233; on those of Abū Bakr and 'Umar: Abū Dāwūd al-Ṭayālīsī, *Musnad*, 2264; 'Alī b. al-Ja'd, *Musnad*, 2107; on 'Uthmān's: al-Fasawī, *al-Ma'rifa*, 3: 526; Ibn Abī 'Āṣim, *al-Sunna*, 1292, 1294; on the merits of the first three caliphs: Abū Dāwūd al-Ṭayālīsī, *Musnad*, 907; Abū Dāwūd al-Sijistānī, *Sunan*, 4635; Ibn Abī 'Āṣim, *al-Sunna*, 1135, 1141, 1203, 1450; on 'Alī's: Abū Dāwūd al-Sijistānī, *Sunan*, 4856; Ibn Abī 'Āṣim, *al-Sunna*, 1377; on the virtues of the four caliphs: Ibn Abī 'Āṣim, *al-Sunna*, 1181; al-Fasawī, *Mashyakha*, 6.
 5. 'Abd al-Wārith b. Sa'īd (d. 180/796). Khurasani by origin, lived in Basra.
See Ibn Sa'd, *al-Ṭabaqāt*, 9: 290. For his hadith on the first four caliphs: al-Fasawī, *al-Ma'rifa*, 3: 554; al-Fasawī, *Mashyakha*, 47; Abū Dāwūd al-Sijistānī, *Sunan*, 4646.
 6. Hushaym b. Bashīr (d. 183/799). Wasiti by origin, settled and died in Baghdad.
See al-Dhahabī, *Siyar*, 4099–4100; Ibn Sa'd, *al-Ṭabaqāt*, 9: 315. For his hadith on Abū Bakr and 'Umar's merits: 'Alī b. al-Ja'd, *Musnad*, 2103; on 'Alī's: al-Nasā'ī, *Faḍā'il*, 51; al-Haythamī, *Bughyat al-bāḥith 'an zawā'id musnad al-Ḥārith*, ed. H. A. H. al-Bākīrī (Medina: Markaz Khidmat al-Sunna wa-l-Sīra al-Nabawiyya, 1992), 984; on the four caliphs: Abū Dāwūd al-Sijistānī, *Sunan*, 4647.
 7. Jarīr b. 'Abd al-Ḥamīd (d. 188/804). Originally from Isfahan, grew up in Kufa, settled in Rayy.
See al-Mizzī, *Tahdhīb*, 4: 544–46; Ibn Sa'd, *al-Ṭabaqāt*, 9: 384; al-Dhahabī, *Siyar*, 1286–88. For his hadith on Abū Bakr's virtues: Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, 2383; on 'Umar's: Ibn Abī Shayba, *al-Muṣannaf*, 32617; on 'Uthmān's: Nu'aym b. Ḥammād, *al-Fitan*, 470; on 'Alī's: Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, 2408; Ibn Abī Shayba, *al-Muṣannaf*, 32664–65.
 8. 'Abda b. Sulaymān (d. 188/804). Assigned to the section on Kufan scholars by Ibn Sa'd.
See *al-Ṭabaqāt*, 8: 513. For his traditions on 'Umar's merits: Ibn Abī 'Āṣim, *al-Sunna*, 1265; Ibn Abī Shayba, *al-Muṣannaf*, 32588; on 'Uthmān's: Ibn Abī Shayba, *al-Muṣannaf*, 32629; Nu'aym b. Ḥammād, *al-Fitan*, 446; on 'Alī's: Ibn Abī Shayba, *al-Muṣannaf*, 32707.
 9. 'Abdallāh b. Idrīs (d. 192/808). Kufan, traveled to Mosul and Baghdad.
See Ibn Sa'd, *al-Ṭabaqāt*, 8: 511; al-Khaṭīb, *Tārīkh*, 11: 69–75. For his hadith on Abū Bakr's merits: Ibn Abī Shayba, *al-Muṣannaf*, 32528, 32611; Ibn Abī 'Āṣim, *al-Sunna*, 1150, 1220; Ibn Māja, *Sunan*, ed. B. 'A. Ma'rūf (Beirut: Dār al-Jīl, 1998), 94; on 'Umar's: Ibn Sa'd, *al-Ṭabaqāt*, 3: 272; Ibn Abī Shayba, *al-Muṣannaf*, 32570–72, 32612; on Abū Bakr and 'Umar's: Nu'aym b. Ḥammād, *al-Fitan*, 184; Ibn Abī 'Āṣim, *al-Sunna*, 1168; on 'Uthmān's: Ibn Abī Shayba, *al-Muṣannaf*, 32621, 32632–33, 32636, 32641; Ibn Sa'd, *al-Ṭabaqāt*, 3: 66, 75, 76; Ibn Māja, *Sunan*, 111; Ibn Abī 'Āṣim, *al-Sunna*, 1170; on 'Alī's: Ibn Abī Shayba, *al-Muṣannaf*, 32723.
 10. Ismā'īl b. 'Ulayya (d. 193/809). Kufan, established his scholarly profile in Basra, moved to Baghdad when appointed to the *mazālim* court.
See al-Khaṭīb, *Tārīkh*, 7: 196–211; Ibn Sa'd, *al-Ṭabaqāt*, 9: 327–28. For his hadith on Abū Bakr's merits: Ibn Abī Shayba, *al-Muṣannaf*, 32522, 32529, 32555; Ibn Abī 'Āṣim, *al-Sunna*, 1228; on 'Umar's merits: al-Nasā'ī, *Faḍā'il*, 26; Ibn Sa'd, *al-Ṭabaqāt*, 3: 256, 260; on Abū Bakr and 'Umar's merits: Ibn Abī Shayba, *al-Muṣannaf*, 32554; on 'Uthmān's merits: Ibn Abī Shayba, *al-Muṣannaf*, 32623–24, 32626; Ibn Sa'd, *al-Ṭabaqāt*, 3: 67–68;

- Ibn Abī ‘Āṣim, *al-Sunna*, 1297; on ‘Alī’s: Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, 2408; Ibn Sa’d, *al-Ṭabaqāt*, 3: 32; on the first three caliphs’ merits: Ibn Abī Shayba, *al-Muṣannaf*, 32627; Nu‘aym b. Ḥammād, *al-Fitan*, 259, 292; al-Nasā’ī, *Faḍā’il*, 30.
11. Abū Mu‘āwiya (d. 195/810f.). Assigned to the section on Kufan scholars by Ibn Sa’d. See *al-Ṭabaqāt*, 9: 315. For his hadith on Abū Bakr’s virtues: Ibn Māja, *Sunan*, 94; Ibn Sa’d, *al-Ṭabaqāt*, 3: 161, 164–65, 184; Ibn Abī ‘Āṣim, *al-Sunna*, 1226, 1229; Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, 2383; al-Nasā’ī, *Faḍā’il*, 9; Ibn Abī Shayba, *al-Muṣannaf*, 32521, 32525, 32537, 32562; on ‘Umar’s virtues: Ibn Abī Shayba, *al-Muṣannaf*, 32595, 32600–3, 32605–6, 32620; Ibn Sa’d, *al-Ṭabaqāt*, 3: 255, 297; on those of Abū Bakr and ‘Umar: Ibn Abī Shayba, *al-Muṣannaf*, 32542, 32553; Nu‘aym b. Ḥammād, *al-Fitan*, 243; ‘Alī b. al-Ja’d, *Musnad*, 2098; Ibn Abī ‘Āṣim, *al-Sunna*, 1416; on ‘Uthmān’s virtues: Ibn Abī Shayba, *al-Muṣannaf*, 32630, 32648–49, 32661; Nu‘aym b. Ḥammād, *al-Fitan*, 434, 442, 444; Ibn Sa’d, *al-Ṭabaqāt*, 3: 59, 66, 77, 78; Ibn Māja, *Sunan*, 112; on ‘Alī’s virtues: Ibn Abī Shayba, *al-Muṣannaf*, 32662–63, 32666–67, 32676; al-Nasā’ī, *Faḍā’il*, 41, 50; Ibn Māja, *Sunan*, 114; Ibn Sa’d, *al-Ṭabaqāt*, 3: 37; Ibn Abī ‘Āṣim, *al-Sunna*, 1325, 1354, 1380; on the four caliphs’ virtues: Ibn Abī Shayba, *al-Muṣannaf*, 32534; Nu‘aym b. Ḥammād, *al-Fitan*, 265–66, 297, 298; Ibn Abī Shayba, *al-Muṣannaf*, 1195.
 12. Wakīf b. al-Jarrāḥ (d. 197/812). Settled in Kufa, traveled to Iraq, the Hijaz, and Greater Syria. See Ibn Sa’d, *al-Ṭabaqāt*, 8: 517; al-Mizzī, *Tahdhīb*, 30, 463; Ibn ‘Asākir, *Tārīkh*, 63: 60, 73–74, 87–89. For Wakīf’s hadith on Abū Bakr’s merits: Ibn Abī Shayba, *al-Muṣannaf*, 32521, 32564; Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, 2383; Ibn Sa’d, *al-Ṭabaqāt*, 3: 168, 175, 177, 179; Ibn Māja, *Sunan*, 93; al-Fasawī, *al-Ma’rifā*, 1: 452; on ‘Umar’s merits: Ibn Abī Shayba, *al-Muṣannaf*, 32573–74, 32580–81, 32613–14; Ibn Sa’d, *al-Ṭabaqāt*, 3: 256, 259; on the merits of Abū Bakr and ‘Umar: Ibn Abī Shayba, *al-Muṣannaf*, 32523, 32533, 32540, 32543; Ibn Māja, *Sunan*, 96, 106; al-Nasā’ī, *Faḍā’il*, 17; al-Tirmidhī, *al-Jāmi‘*, 3663; al-Fasawī, *al-Ma’rifā*, 3: 527; Ibn Abī ‘Āṣim, *al-Sunna*, 1148, 1198, 1206, 1422; on ‘Uthmān’s merits: Ibn Abī Shayba, *al-Muṣannaf*, 32655–56; Nu‘aym b. Ḥammād, *al-Fitan*, 474; Ibn Māja, *Sunan*, 113; al-Tirmidhī, *al-Jāmi‘*, 3711; Ibn Abī ‘Āṣim, *Kitāb al-Sunna*, 1281; on ‘Alī’s merits: Ibn Abī Shayba, *al-Muṣannaf*, 32662–63, 32675, 32687, 32697, 32704, 32708, 32718, 32722, 32728, 32731–32, 32734; Nu‘aym b. Ḥammād, *al-Fitan*, 202; Ibn Sa’d, *al-Ṭabaqāt*, 3: 19, 32; Ibn Māja, *Sunan*, 114, 117; al-Tirmidhī, *al-Jāmi‘*, 3715–16; Ibn Abī ‘Āṣim, *al-Sunna*, 1318, 1325, 1347.
 13. Sufyān b. ‘Uyayna (d. 198/814). Kufan, settled in Mecca after travel to Yemen and Baghdad. See Ibn Sa’d, *al-Ṭabaqāt*, 8: 59–60. For his hadith on Abū Bakr’s merits: Ibn Abī Shayba, *al-Muṣannaf*, 32532, 32536; ‘Abdallāh b. al-Zubayr al-Ḥumaydī, *Musnad al-Ḥumaydī*, ed. Ḥ. S. Asad (Damascus: Dār al-Saqā, 1996), 454, 619, 917, 772–73, 1085–86; Ibn Abī ‘Āṣim, *al-Sunna*, 1230; on ‘Umar’s merits: Ibn Abī Shayba, *al-Muṣannaf*, 32538, 32591; Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, 2394, 2398; al-Nasā’ī, *Faḍā’il*, 24; al-Ḥumaydī, *Musnad*, 255–56, 1271–72; al-Fasawī, *al-Ma’rifā*, 1: 457, 470; on both Abū Bakr and ‘Umar’s merits: Abū Dāwūd al-Ṭayālīsī, *Musnad*, 1926; Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, 2388; Abū Dāwūd al-Sijistānī, *Sunan*, 4629; Ibn Māja, *Sunan*, 95; al-Tirmidhī, *al-Jāmi‘*, 3662, 3666; al-Ḥumaydī, *Musnad*, 454, 619, 917, 772–73, 1085–86; on ‘Uthmān’s: Nu‘aym b. Ḥammād, *al-Fitan*, 392; al-Ḥumaydī, *Musnad*, 270; on ‘Alī’s merits: al-Nasā’ī, *Faḍā’il*, 49; al-Fasawī, *Mashyakha*, m6 (p. 142); Ibn Abī ‘Āṣim, *al-Sunna*, 1344, 1386; al-Ḥumaydī, *Musnad*, 8, 58, 71, 235, 803.
 14. ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. Maḥdī (d. 198/814). Basran, but was once in Baghdad. See Ibn Sa’d, *al-Ṭabaqāt*, 9: 299; al-Khaṭīb, *Tārīkh*, 11, 514–15. For his hadith on Abū Bakr’s merits: al-Nasā’ī, *Faḍā’il*, 4; al-Tirmidhī, *al-Jāmi‘*, 3667; on ‘Uthmān’s merits: Nu‘aym b. Ḥammād, *al-Fitan*, 205; on ‘Alī’s: Nu‘aym b. Ḥammād, *al-Fitan*, 203; on the first three caliphs’ virtues: Ibn Abī ‘Āṣim, *al-Sunna*, 1136.

15. ʿAbdallāh b. Numayr (d. 199/818). Assigned to the section on Kufan scholars by Ibn Saʿd.
 See *al-Ṭabaqāt*, 8: 516. For his hadith on Abū Bakr's merits: Ibn Abī Shayba, *al-Muṣannaf*, 32531; Ibn Saʿd, *al-Ṭabaqāt*, 3: 175, 179; on ʿUmar's merits: Ibn Abī Shayba, *al-Muṣannaf*, 32566, 32575; Ibn Saʿd, *al-Ṭabaqāt*, 3: 250, 254; Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, 2394; Ibn Abī ʿĀṣim, *al-Sunna*, 1249; on ʿUthmān's merits: Ibn Saʿd, *al-Ṭabaqāt*, 3: 78; on ʿAlī's merits: Ibn Abī Shayba, *al-Muṣannaf*, 32674, 32677, 32682, 32693, 32703, 32711, 32739; Ibn Saʿd, *al-Ṭabaqāt*, 3: 37; Ibn Abī ʿĀṣim, *al-Sunna*, 1324, 1346.
16. Abū Usāma (d. 201/817). Assigned to the section on Kufan scholars by Ibn Saʿd.
 See *al-Ṭabaqāt*, 8: 517. For his hadith on Abū Bakr's virtues: Ibn Abī Shayba, *al-Muṣannaf*, 32556; Ibn Saʿd, *al-Ṭabaqāt*, 3: 158, 179–80; on ʿUmar's: Ibn Abī Shayba, *al-Muṣannaf*, 32576, 32588, 32618; Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, 2400; Ibn Saʿd, *al-Ṭabaqāt*, 3: 258–59; Ibn Abī ʿĀṣim, *al-Sunna*, 1255, 1265; on Abū Bakr and ʿUmar's merits: Ibn Māja, *Sunan*, 102; on ʿUthmān's: Ibn Abī Shayba, *al-Muṣannaf*, 32622, 32635; Ibn Saʿd, *al-Ṭabaqāt*, 3: 56, 67, 71; Ibn Abī ʿĀṣim, *al-Sunna*, 1175, 1296; on ʿAlī's merits: Ibn Abī Shayba, *al-Muṣannaf*, 32668, 32702, 32715; Ibn Saʿd, *al-Ṭabaqāt*, 3: 32; on the first three caliphs' merits: Ibn Abī Shayba, *al-Muṣannaf*, 32560, 32651; on the first four caliphs' merits: Ibn Abī Shayba, *al-Muṣannaf*, 32598.
17. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. Muḥammad (d. 201/817). Isfahani or Khurasani by origin, traveled to Medina.
 See al-Dhahabī, *Siyar*, 2293–94; Ibn Saʿd, *al-Ṭabaqāt*, 7: 602. For his hadith on ʿUmar's merits: Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, 2397; Ibn Abī ʿĀṣim, *al-Sunna*, 1260; on Abū Bakr and ʿUmar's merits: Ibn Abī ʿĀṣim, *al-Sunna*, 1244; on ʿAlī's: Ibn Abī ʿĀṣim, *al-Sunna*, 1330, 1340; on the first three caliphs' merits: Ibn Abī ʿĀṣim, *al-Sunna*, 1441; on the first four caliphs' merits: Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, 3417; al-Tirmidhī, *al-Jāmiʿ*, 3696.
18. Abū Dāwūd al-Ṭayālīsī (d. 203 or 204/818–820). Isfahani or from Fars by origin, traveled to Baghdad, settled in Basra.
 See al-Turkī, “Muqaddimat al-Taḥqīq,” 19–20. In addition to the hadith recorded in his *Musnad* mentioned in this appendix, his reports on Abū Bakr's merits can be found in: Ibn Saʿd, *al-Ṭabaqāt*, 3: 163, 165; on ʿUmar's: al-Nasāʾī, *Faḍāʾil*, 19; Ibn Saʿd, *al-Ṭabaqāt*, 3: 306; al-Tirmidhī, *al-Jāmiʿ*, 2284, 3687, 3693; on Abū Bakr and ʿUmar's merits: al-Tirmidhī, *al-Jāmiʿ*, 3668, 3677, 3695; on ʿUthmān's merits: al-Tirmidhī, *al-Jāmiʿ*, 3700; on ʿAlī's: Ibn Saʿd, *al-Ṭabaqāt*, 3: 20.
19. Muḥammad b. Bishr (d. 203/818 f.). Assigned to the section on Kufan scholars by Ibn Saʿd.
 See *al-Ṭabaqāt*, 8: 516. For his hadith on ʿUmar's merits: Ibn Abī Shayba, *al-Muṣannaf*, 32604, 32610, 32615; on Abū Bakr and ʿUmar's merits: Ibn Abī Shayba, *al-Muṣannaf*, 32567; Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, 2393; Ibn Abī ʿĀṣim, *al-Sunna*, 1456; on ʿUthmān's: Ibn Abī Shayba, *al-Muṣannaf*, 32625, 32628, 32631, 32654, 32658; on ʿAlī's merits: Ibn Abī Shayba, *al-Muṣannaf*, 32700, 32740; on the four caliphs' merits: Ibn Abī Shayba, *al-Muṣannaf*, 32544; Ibn Abī ʿĀṣim, *al-Sunna*, 1434.
20. Shabbāba b. Sawwār (d. bet. 204 and 206/819–822). Khurasani by origin, traveled to Baghdad and Mecca, settled in Ctesiphon.
 See al-Mizzī, *Tahdhīb*, 12: 348; al-Khaṭīb, *Tārīkh*, 10: 401; Ibn Saʿd, *al-Ṭabaqāt*, 9: 322. For his hadith on Abū Bakr's merits: Ibn Saʿd, *al-Ṭabaqāt*, 3: 159; Ibn Abī ʿĀṣim, *al-Sunna*, 1158, 1221; al-Fasawī, *al-Maʿrifa*, 1: 453; on Abū Bakr and ʿUmar's merits: Ibn Abī ʿĀṣim, *al-Sunna*, 1165; on ʿUthmān's merits: Ibn Abī Shayba, *al-Muṣannaf*, 32650; Ibn Saʿd, *al-Ṭabaqāt*, 3: 66; Ibn Abī ʿĀṣim, *al-Sunna*, 1177, 1216, 1290, 1302; on ʿAlī's merits: Ibn Abī Shayba, *al-Muṣannaf*, 32683.

21. Rawḥ b. ʿUbāda (d. 205/820f.). Traveled to Baghdad, settled in Basra.
See al-Khaṭīb, *Tārīkh*, 9: 385–86; Ibn Saʿd, *al-Ṭabaqāt*, 9: 297. For his hadith on Abū Bakr's virtues: Ibn Saʿd, *al-Ṭabaqāt*, 3: 168, 181–82; on ʿUthmān's merits: Ibn Saʿd, *al-Ṭabaqāt*, 3: 57, 65, 78, 272; al-Haythamī, *Bughya*, 972; on ʿAlī's: Ibn Saʿd, *al-Ṭabaqāt*, 3: 22–23; on the first four caliphs' merits: Nuʿaym b. Ḥammād, *al-Fitan*, 287.
22. Yazīd b. Hārūn (d. 206/821). Bukharan by origin, traveled to Baghdad, Hira, and Basra, settled in Wasit.
See al-ʿIjlī, *Tārīkh*, 481; al-Mizzī, *Tahdhīb*, 32: 261–70; al-Khaṭīb, *Tārīkh*, 16, 493–95; Ibn Saʿd, *al-Ṭabaqāt*, 9: 316. For his hadith on Abū Bakr's merits: Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, 2387; al-Haythamī, *Bughya*, 963; Ibn Abī ʿĀṣim, *al-Sunna*, 1237; Ibn Saʿd, *al-Ṭabaqāt*, 3: 156, 158, 163, 164, 166, 176; Ibn Abī Shayba, *al-Muṣannaf*, 32557, 32563, 32565; on ʿUmar's merits: Ibn Abī ʿĀṣim, *al-Sunna*, 1277; Ibn Saʿd, *al-Ṭabaqāt*, 3: 258, 269, 271, 274, 283, 292, 297, 310, 312; on Abū Bakr and ʿUmar's merits: al-Haythamī, *Bughya*, 967; on ʿUthmān's merits: Ibn Abī Shayba, *al-Muṣannaf*, 32660; Ibn Abī ʿĀṣim, *al-Sunna*, 1307; Ibn Saʿd, *al-Ṭabaqāt*, 3: 64–65, 71, 77; on ʿAlī's merits: Ibn Saʿd, *al-Ṭabaqāt*, 3: 19–20, 32; Ibn Abī ʿĀṣim, *al-Sunna*, 1384; on the first three caliphs' merits: Ibn Abī ʿĀṣim, *al-Sunna*, 1147; Ibn Abī Shayba, *al-Muṣannaf*, 32659; Nuʿaym b. Ḥammād, *al-Fitan*, 256, 291; on the first four caliphs: Ibn Abī ʿĀṣim, *al-Sunna*, 1185.
23. al-Wāqidī (d. 207/823). Medinan by origin, traveled to Greater Syria, Hijaz, and Raqqa, settled in Medina, then moved to Baghdad.
See al-Khaṭīb, *Tārīkh*, 4: 6. For his hadith on Abū Bakr's merits: Ibn Saʿd, *al-Ṭabaqāt*, 3: 156–60, 169, 178, 182, 185, 192; on ʿUmar's merits: Ibn Saʿd, *al-Ṭabaqāt*, 3: 249, 251–52, 269–70, 275–76, 284–92, 294–95, 297–302, 309; on ʿUthmān's merits: Ibn Saʿd, *al-Ṭabaqāt*, 3: 52–53, 57–62, 64, 67, 70–71, 74; on ʿAlī's merits: Ibn Saʿd, *al-Ṭabaqāt*, 3: 19–21.
24. Aswad b. ʿĀmir (d. 208/823). Greater Syrian by origin, settled in Baghdad.
See Ibn Saʿd, *al-Ṭabaqāt*, 9: 338. For his hadith on ʿUthmān's merits: al-Tirmidhī, *al-Jāmiʿ*, 3708; on ʿAlī's: Ibn Abī Shayba, *al-Muṣannaf*, 32679; on the first three caliphs' merits: Abū Dāwūd al-Sijistānī, *Sunan*, 4627.
25. ʿAbd al-Razzāq b. Hammām (d. 211/827). Khurasani by origin, traveled to Hijaz and Greater Syria, settled in Yemen.
See Ibn Saʿd, *al-Ṭabaqāt*, 8: 108; *EI3*, art. ʿAbd al-Razzāq al-Ṣanʿānī (H. Motzki). Besides those mentioned in this appendix, for his hadith on Abū Bakr's merits: Nuʿaym b. Ḥammād, *al-Fitan*, 194; Ibn Saʿd, *al-Ṭabaqāt*, 3: 156; al-Tirmidhī, *al-Jāmiʿ*, 3655; ʿAbd al-Razzāq, *al-Muṣannaf*, 20397–99; on ʿUmar's merits: al-Nasāʾī, *Faḍāʾil*, 21; al-Tirmidhī, *al-Jāmiʿ*, 2285; ʿAbd al-Razzāq, *al-Muṣannaf*, 20380–86, 20405, 20407; on Abū Bakr and ʿUmar's merits: ʿAbd al-Razzāq, *al-Muṣannaf*, 20403–4, 20406; on ʿUthmān's merits: Nuʿaym b. Ḥammād, *al-Fitan*, 423; ʿAbd al-Razzāq, *al-Muṣannaf*, 20400, 20408–9, 20962–67, 20970–74; on ʿAlī's merits: Ibn Abī ʿĀṣim, *al-Sunna*, 1183, 1342; ʿAbd al-Razzāq, *al-Muṣannaf*, 60646–47, 20388–92, 20394–96, 20476; on the first three caliphs' merits: Nuʿaym b. Ḥammād, *al-Fitan*, 260; Ibn Abī ʿĀṣim, *al-Sunna*, 1444; Abū Dāwūd al-Sijistānī, *Sunan*, 4632; ʿAbd al-Razzāq, *al-Muṣannaf*, 20401–2, 20968–69; on the four caliphs' merits: ʿAbd al-Razzāq, *al-Muṣannaf*, 20387; Ibn Abī ʿĀṣim, *al-Sunna*, 1143.
26. ʿUbaydallāh b. Mūsā (d. 213/829). Lived in Kufa.
See Ibn Saʿd, *al-Ṭabaqāt*, 8: 522–23. For his hadith on Abū Bakr's merits: Ibn Saʿd, *al-Ṭabaqāt*, 3: 167; al-Fasawī, *al-Maʿrifa*, 1: 239–41, 450–51; 3: 527; on ʿUmar's merits: Ibn Saʿd, *al-Ṭabaqāt*, 3: 250, 281, 301; al-Fasawī, *al-Maʿrifa*, 1: 462–63; on Abū Bakr and ʿUmar's merits: Ibn Saʿd, *al-Ṭabaqāt*, 3: 192; on ʿUthmān's merits: Ibn Abī Shayba, *al-Muṣannaf*, 32644; Ibn Saʿd, *al-Ṭabaqāt*, 3: 59; Ibn Abī ʿĀṣim, *al-Sunna*, 1287; on ʿAlī's: Ibn Abī Shayba, *al-Muṣannaf*, 32684, 32688; Ibn Saʿd, *al-Ṭabaqāt*, 3: 32, 37;

- al-Tirmidhī, *al-Jāmi'*, 3721; Ibn Abī 'Āṣim, *al-Sunna*, 1323, 1357, 1370; on the four caliphs' merits: al-Fasawī, *al-Ma'rifa*, 3: 457–58.
27. Qabīṣa b. 'Uqba (d. 215/830). Assigned to the section on Kufan scholars by Ibn Sa'd. See *al-Ṭabaqāt*, 8: 527. For his hadith on Abū Bakr's merits: Ibn Sa'd, *al-Ṭabaqāt*, 3: 156, 176; on 'Umar's merits: al-Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, ed. Abū Ṣuhayb al-Karamī (Beirut: Bayt al-Afkār al-Dawliyya, 1998), 3659; Ibn Sa'd, *al-Ṭabaqāt*, 3: 168; on those of Abū Bakr and 'Umar: al-Fasawī, *al-Ma'rifa*, 1: 470; on 'Uthmān's: Ibn Abī 'Āṣim, *al-Sunna*, 1282; Ibn Sa'd, *al-Ṭabaqāt*, 3: 62; on the merits of the first three caliphs: Ibn Abī Shayba, *al-Muṣannaf*, 32559; on the four caliphs' virtues: Abū Dāwūd al-Sijistānī, *Sunan*, 4631.
28. 'Abdallāh b. al-Zubayr al-Ḥumaydī (d. 219/834f.). Studied under Sufyān b. 'Uyayna in Mecca, settled in Egypt as a disciple of al-Shāfi'ī, moved to Mecca after al-Shāfi'ī's death. See Ibn Sa'd, *al-Ṭabaqāt*, 8: 63; al-Dhahabī, *Siyar*, 2386; al-Subkī, *Ṭabaqāt al-shāfi'iyya al-kubrā*, ed. M. M. al-Ṭanāḥī and 'A. al-Ḥilw (Cairo: Dār Iḥyā' al-Kutub al-'Arabiyya, 1964), 2: 140–43. In addition to the traditions related by al-Ḥumaydī in his *Musnad* mentioned in this appendix, his hadith on Abū Bakr's merits: al-Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, 3659; Ibn Sa'd, *al-Ṭabaqāt*, 3: 168; on 'Umar's: al-Fasawī, *al-Ma'rifa*, 1: 456–57.
29. al-Faql b. Dukayn (d. 219/834). Settled in Kufa. See Ibn Sa'd, *al-Ṭabaqāt*, 8: 523. For his hadith on Abū Bakr's merits: Ibn Sa'd, *al-Ṭabaqāt*, 3: 161, 167, 176–77, 180–81; al-Tirmidhī, *al-Jāmi'*, 3675; Ibn Abī 'Āṣim, *al-Sunna*, 1240; on 'Umar's merits: Ibn Sa'd, *al-Ṭabaqāt*, 3: 250, 259, 273, 292, 295–97, 307–8; on 'Uthmān's merits: Ibn Sa'd, *al-Ṭabaqāt*, 3: 59; on 'Alī's: al-Nasā'ī, *Faḍā'il*, 36, 42; Ibn Sa'd, *al-Ṭabaqāt*, 3: 22, 31, 33; al-Tirmidhī, *al-Jāmi'*, 3730; Ibn Abī 'Āṣim, *al-Sunna*, 1364; Ibn Abī Shayba, *al-Muṣannaf*, 32729–30; on the virtues of the first two caliphs and 'Alī: Ibn Abī 'Āṣim, *al-Sunna*, 1421.
30. 'Affān b. Muslim (d. 219/834). Basran by origin, traveled to Baghdad, settled in Basra. See al-Mizzī, *Tahdhīb*, 20, 160–61; Ibn Sa'd, *al-Ṭabaqāt*, 9: 300. For his hadith on Abū Bakr's merits: Ibn Abī Shayba, *al-Muṣannaf*, 32527; Ibn Sa'd, *al-Ṭabaqāt*, 3: 156–58, 161, 165, 169, 176, 181, 184, 194; Ibn Abī 'Āṣim, *al-Sunna*, 1225; on 'Umar's merits: Ibn Sa'd, *al-Ṭabaqāt*, 3: 247, 255, 271, 296, 310; on Abū Bakr and 'Umar's merits: 'Alī b. al-Ja'd, *Musnad*, 2109; on 'Uthmān's merits: Ibn Abī Shayba, *al-Muṣannaf*, 32637–38, 32645–46; Ibn Sa'd, *al-Ṭabaqāt*, 3: 56–57, 59, 71, 75, 78; on 'Alī's merits: Ibn Abī 'Āṣim, *al-Sunna*, 1322; Ibn Sa'd, *al-Ṭabaqāt*, 3: 19, 22; Ibn Abī Shayba, *al-Muṣannaf*, 32681, 32716, 32719, 32733; on the first three caliphs' merits: Ibn Abī 'Āṣim, *al-Sunna*, 1142; Ibn Abī Shayba, *al-Muṣannaf*, 32599; on the first four caliphs: Abū Dāwūd al-Sijistānī, *Sunan*, 4637.
31. 'Alī b. Muḥammad b. 'Alī (fl. after 224/839). Traveled to Wasit, settled in Mis-sis. See Ibn Hibbān, *al-Thiqāt*, 8: 477; Ibn Hajar, *Tahdhīb*, 3: 191. For his hadith on Abū Bakr's merits: Ibn Māja, *Sunan*, 93–94; on Abū Bakr and 'Umar's merits: Ibn Māja, *Sunan*, 96–98, 102, 106; on 'Uthmān's merits: Ibn Māja, *Sunan*, 111–13; on 'Alī's: al-Nasā'ī, *Khaṣā'is amīr al-mu'minīn 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib*, ed. A. M. al-Balūshī (Kuwait: Maktabat al-Ma'lā, 1986), 29, 87, 99; Ibn Māja, *Sunan*, 114, 116, 121.
32. Ismā'īl b. 'Abdallāh b. Abī Uways (d. 227/842). Settled in Medina. See Ibn Sa'd, *al-Ṭabaqāt*, 7: 616. For his hadith on Abū Bakr's virtues: al-Tirmidhī, *al-Jāmi'*, 3656; al-Fasawī, *al-Ma'rifa*, 3: 528; on 'Umar's virtues: Ibn Sa'd, *al-Ṭabaqāt*, 3: 267, 272, 291; on 'Alī's virtues: Ibn Sa'd, *al-Ṭabaqāt*, 3: 19; Ibn Abī 'Āṣim, *al-Sunna*, 1349; on the first three caliphs' virtues: Ibn Abī 'Āṣim, *al-Sunna*, 1191; on the four caliphs': Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, 2317.

33. Nuʿaym b. Ḥammād (d. 228/884). Marwazi by origin, traveled to Hijaz, Baghdad, and Basra, settled in Egypt.
See Ibn Saʿd, *al-Ṭabaqāt*, 9: 527; al-Khaṭīb, *Tārīkh*, 15: 429. In addition to those found in his *Kitāb al-Fitan* mentioned in this appendix, his hadith on Abū Bakr's merit can be found in al-Fasawī, *al-Maʿrifā*, 1: 448.
34. Ibn Saʿd (d. 230/845). Basran, later settled in Baghdad.
See al-Mizzī, *Tahdhīb*, 25: 255–56; al-Khaṭīb, *Tārīkh*, 3: 268. For his hadith, see those mentioned in this appendix.
35. Abū Bakr b. Abī Shayba (d. 235/849). Kufan, traveled to Hijaz and Basra, settled in Kufa.
See al-Khaṭīb, *Tārīkh Madīnat*, 11: 261; Ibn Saʿd, *al-Ṭabaqāt*, 8: 538; al-Dhahabī, *Siyar*, 2488. In addition to the hadith noted in this appendix, for his hadith on Abū Bakr's merits: al-Fasawī, *al-Maʿrifā*, 1: 454; Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, 2383; Ibn Māja, *Sunan*, 94; Ibn Abī ʿĀṣim, *al-Sunna*, 1159, 1164, 1220, 1225–29, 1240; on ʿUmar's merits: Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, 2394, 2400; Ibn Abī ʿĀṣim, *al-Sunna*, 1249–51, 1255, 1265–69, 1277; on Abū Bakr and ʿUmar's merits: al-Fasawī, *al-Maʿrifā*, 3: 527; Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, 2393; Ibn Abī ʿĀṣim, *al-Sunna*, 1249–51, 1255, 1265–69, 1277; on ʿUthmān's merits: Ibn Abī ʿĀṣim, *al-Sunna*, 1172–73, 1175, 1177, 1216, 1278, 1296–97, 1308; on ʿAlī's merits: Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, 2404, 2408; Ibn Māja, *Sunan*, 119; Ibn Abī ʿĀṣim, *al-Sunna*, 1316, 1318–20, 1323–25, 1337, 1346–47, 1352, 1354–56, 1364, 1380; on the first three caliphs' merits: Ibn Abī ʿĀṣim, *al-Sunna*, 1137–38, 1142, 1147, 1195, 1201–2; on the merits of the first two caliphs and ʿAlī: Ibn Abī ʿĀṣim, *al-Sunna*, 1421, 1453; on Abū Bakr and ʿAlī's virtues: Ibn Abī ʿĀṣim, *al-Sunna*, 1217; on those of the four caliphs: Ibn Abī ʿĀṣim, *al-Sunna*, 1185, 1426, 1434.
36. ʿUthmān b. Abī Shayba (d. 239/853). Kufan, traveled to Rayy and Mecca, settled in Baghdad.
See al-Khaṭīb, *Tārīkh*, 13: 162; al-Mizzī, *Tahdhīb*, 19: 479; Ibn Saʿd, *al-Ṭabaqāt*, 8: 537. For his hadith on Abū Bakr's merits: Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, 2383; on ʿAlī's merits: Ibn Māja, *Sunan*, 117; on the first three caliphs' merits: Abū Dāwūd al-Sijistānī, *Sunan*, 4627.
37. Qutayba b. Saʿīd (d. 240/855). Traveled extensively—to Baghdad, Mecca, Medina, Greater Syria, and Egypt, settled in Balkh.
See al-Khaṭīb, *Tārīkh*, 14: 481; Ibn Saʿd, *al-Ṭabaqāt*, 9: 383. For his hadith on Abū Bakr's merits: al-Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, 3672; al-Nasāʾī, *Faḍāʾil*, 8; on ʿUmar's merits: Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, 2391, 2398; al-Nasāʾī, *Faḍāʾil*, 18, 24; al-Tirmidhī, *al-Jāmiʿ*, 2284, 3687, 3693; on Abū Bakr and ʿUmar's merits: al-Tirmidhī, *al-Jāmiʿ*, 3658, 3671; on ʿUthmān's: Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, 2401; on ʿAlī's merits: Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, 2404–7, 2409; al-Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, 3701–2; al-Nasāʾī, *Faḍāʾil*, 43, 46; al-Nasāʾī, *Khaṣāʾiṣ*, 11, 17, 19, 84, 89, 170, 187; al-Tirmidhī, *al-Jāmiʿ*, 3712, 3717, 3724; on the first four caliphs: Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, 3417; al-Tirmidhī, *al-Jāmiʿ*, 3696.

APPENDIX 3. GEOGRAPHICAL DISTRIBUTION OF THE FOUR CALIPHS' *FADĀʾIL* NARRATORS

Below table represents the three periods, with the total number of the traditionists, their geographical distribution, and composition. I only count where the traditionists first settled in this table, to eliminate confusion. For example, ʿUthmān b. Abī Shayba first lived in Kufa and later moved to Baghdad. Only Kufa is considered in the statistics in this table.

Periods	Number of Narrators	Distribution	Composition
150–179 <i>h</i> (767–796)	4	Basra: 4	100%
180–209 <i>h</i> (796–825)	20	Basra: 5 Kufa: 8 Mecca: 1 Medina: 2 Ctesiphon: 1 Baghdad: 1 Wasit: 2	25% 40% 5% 10% 5% 5% 10%
210–240 <i>h</i> (825–855)	13	Basra: 2 Kufa: 5 Yemen: 1 Mecca: 1 Medina: 1 Greater Syria: 1 Balkh: 1 Marw: 1	15.38% 38.46% 7.69% 7.69% 7.69% 7.69% 7.69% 7.69%